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CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON
After the Portrait by Sully

The United States Catholic Historical Society.
Monograph Series I.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS

OF

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON,

AND OF HIS FATHER,

CHARLES CARROLL OF DOUGHOREGAN.

COMPILED AND EDITED WITH A MEMOIR BY
THOMAS MEAGHER FIELD.

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PREFACE.

At this time of awakened interest in all that appertains to the history of the Colonial Era of our country, the compiler of these Letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton feels that he is warranted in publishing them and that they will be an appreciated addition to the Colonial Documents which have already appeared. The bulk of the correspondence contained in this volume is derived from the original letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, which belonged to his great-grandson, the late Charles Carroll Mactavish, Esq., of Baltimore, Maryland. They are here published by permission of his widow, the present owner of the historic collection. The greater and by far the more important part of these documents is now published for the first time, notably the letters which deal with the enactment and attempted execution of the Stamp Act and the excitement in the Colonies consequent thereon. Some few extracts from this *Correspondence,* it should be stated, appeared in 1874 in *Appleton's Journal,* but included less than a twentieth part of the original letters.

The part of the present *Correspondence* written by friends of Mr. Carroll serves to bring home to us the esteem and veneration in which all classes of his countrymen held the name and character of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

"There are certain fundamental laws essential to, and interwoven with ye English Constitution, which even a Parliament itself can not abrogate. Such I take to be that allowed maxim of the Constitution, that invaluable privilege, the birthright of Englishmen of being taxed with their own consent; the definition of freedom is the being governed by laws to which we have given our consent, as the definition of slavery is the very reverse."

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

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CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

FROM the earliest times Ireland was dominated by clans of considerable power, each sept governed by its hereditary prince, the ruling power descending in line from father to son in the hereditary fashion of a reigning house. Among the most famous of the Irish septs are traced the names of O'Rourke, MacDermott, and the historic house of Ely O'Carroll. Directly in line on the paternal side, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the distinguished subject of this memoir, is found to descend from Olioll Olum, king of Munster, who flourished as far back as the third century.[1] But it is to be observed, a difference of opinion occurs as to an early progenitor of the republican patriot. Tiege, the grandson of Olioll Olum, is placed by Betham in the middle of the twelfth century, but is mentioned by Frederick John O'Carroll as having flourished in the thirteenth. But compared with Betham, O'Carroll was an amateur compiler of historic events, and more liable to error than the official recorder, who was a man of a

[1] Sir William Betham, Irish Antiquarian Researches (Dublin, 1826), Part I, p. 95.

keener wit and more practised research in the line of historic data. Though the chiefs of Ireland are described as kings, their government was local, and Ireland was ruled by a monarch, to whom the princes owed loyalty and service as subjects and vassals of the king.

"The obligations of the monarch and his subjects were mutual; their rights were defined, and each lived in perpetual jealousy of the encroachments of the other. The factions easily devised pretences for withholding obedience from the monarch; the monarch in this case could seek redress only by making war upon his subjects. If the presents demanded by every inferior prince were denied, delayed, or not exactly proportioned to his claims, he refused his services. The monarch was left to the resources of his hereditary province, and in the most dangerous emergencies was frequently without any army." [2]

The same historian speaks of the Irish princes as "provincial kings." Betham says: "It is indisputable that the O'Carrolls were in very early ages kings of the entire district of Ely, and that the territory was so named from Ely, daughter of Luchta, son of the King of Munster, one of our ancient lawgivers, who flourished about the time of our Lord Jesus Christ." [3]

A curious relic of the sept of Ely, called the "Box of Dimma," is still extant,[4] though the origin of this famous casket is dimmed by the doubtful mists of an uncertain antiquity. The casket is wrought in brass and

[2] Thomas Leland, D.D., History of Ireland, London, 1773, Vol. I, p. xxxii.

[3] Sir Wm. Betham, Irish Antiquarian Researches, Part I, p. 105.

[4] Ibid., p. 31.

silver, richly chased, and ornamented with the figures of lions rampant. Part of the silver tracery still remains, and an oval of polished crystal shaped like a cuirass, with settings of lapis lazuli. Inscribed on the box is the name of Tatheus O'Carroll, chief of Ely, and around the margin, in Gothic characters, is traced the following inscription:

"TATHEUS O'KEARBUILL BEIDEEV MEIPSUM DEAURAVIT: DOMINUS DONNALDUS OCUANAIN CONVERBIUS ULTIMO MEIPSUM RESTAURAVIT: TOMAS CEARD DACHORIG IN MINSHA"—"Tiege O'Corroll Boy caused me to be gilt. The Lord Donald O'Cuanain, the Coadjutor to the Bishop, last restored me. Thomas was the artist who decorated this precious relic." [5]

One Dimma, runs the legend, a saintly person, greatly skilled in penmanship, lived in the district of Ely in the beginning of the sixth century. At the request of St. Cronan, the founder of the Abbey of Roscrea, this Dimma undertook a copy of the four Evangelists, stipulating, however, that he should write only for the space of one day. "Write, then," said the Blessed Cronan, "until the going down of the sun." So Dimma began his task, and St. Cronan, "by Divine Grace and power," caused the sun to shine in that place for forty days and forty nights, and "neither was the writer fatigued with continual labor, nor did he feel the want of food or drink or sleep; but he thought the days and nights were but one day, and in that period the four Evangelists were indeed not so well as correctly written." [6] The manuscript was enclosed in the richly

[5] Sir Wm. Betham, Researches, Part I, p. 49.
[6] Ibid., p. 40.

ornamented Box of Dimma fashioned for it. Scroll and casket, for a space of time, disappeared, but both were ultimately found in the cave of a mountain; and in 1819 the "Society of Antiquaries of London" gravely laid before the Royal Irish Academy an essay entitled "Description of a rich and ancient box containing a Latin copy of the Gospels, which was found in a mountain in the county of Tipperary." [7]

When the subjection of Ireland was gradually accomplished, the princely chieftains lost their early power, and hardly a vestige of their rule remained when Henry VIII. was the first of English monarchs declared King of Ireland. This success of arms was followed by the introduction of the penal code inflicting penalties for non-conformity to the established church of the state. To this measure Ireland opposed a sharp and stubborn resistance, resulting in a conflict prolonged and bloody; but the might of superior force prevailed, and confiscation, imprisonment, and fines followed; thousands of hapless people sank to ruin, noble families losing lands and wealth and sometimes life itself in the hopeless and unequal struggle. Among the sufferers of these early rigors of the penal code were the chiefs of Ely, whose descendant three centuries later, writing from Maryland of those desperate times, speaks "of ye low estate to which all the branches of our family are reduced by the struggle ye ancient Irish maintained for the support of their religion." [8]

A letter penned in the first years of the sixteenth cen-

[7] Sir Wm. Betham, Researches, Part I, p. 44.

[8] Letter of Charles Carroll of Doughoregan to his son Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

tury, and still extant, gives a glimpse of an heir of Ely O'Carroll, then "his Majesty's ward." This interesting document, couched in the language of the Shakespearian age, refers to a lawsuit between the guardian of John O'Carroll and his relative, Sir Mulrony, who had usurped the possessions of his youthful kinsman, and succeeded in attaching to himself the tenants of young Carroll's territory.

DOCUMENT I.

Tipperary and King's County.

A.D. 1610.

Right honorable:—As I acquainted your Lordship before you took your journey towards the north with my desire to go into Ely O'Carroll,[9] I performed the same in your absence.

Now I am to acquaint your lordship that the inhabitants of Ely Carroll will not yield their consent for his Majesty's ward John Carroll to have as much means as will keep him to school in a very poor fashion, much less will they let him have those lands and estates which by virtue of letters patent obtained from the prince by his ancestors, he ought to have and enjoy. Even so great is their rudeness that they will not allow the royal dues to be paid, so that unless your lordship in his clemency will have pity on the child for the present, and not be prejudiced against him during his minority, and also because he is a poor friendless orphan, I protest upon my credit that he will be the poorest gentleman in estate, of his rank, in this Kingdom. . . . Yet

[9] O'Carroll's territory, including portions of Kings County and Tipperary.—Papers of the Marquis of Ormonde.

the many matters held to have been extortions are omitted by me to be dealt in before you such time as your lordship does please to lay me down allowance in lue for them the next term, when the late office taken shall be returned, like that which is ordered for the lords, and gentry of the same rank as Carroll in counties adjoining Ely. And whereas it pleased your lordship to order that Sir Mulrony Carroll should enjoy during your lordship's pleasure the Castle of Clonelish, with certain lands, I humbly pray your lordship to rescind your first said order, and order the same possession for me for these considerations following, first because John Carroll is found to be the right heir to Sir William and Sir Charles O'Carroll; secondly for that Mulrony would fain be O'Carroll as tanistry[10] which he cannot claim in any other way; thirdly because I do not think it well that he who is enemy to the King's ward should have possession of any of the ward's lands, and much less of his castles; lastly, good my lord, in whatever way you intend to deal with them privately, let me during the time of his Majesty's interest in the ward, reap the benefit of the wardship. And if your lordship thinks that Sir Mulrony Carroll has deserved well by his service, your lordship may otherwise recompense him without prejudice to the ward, but this I feel it my duty to say, that I am sure your lordship will do well in giving authority to the most worthy people in that county to bind the sons of Sir Mulrony, and most of the gentry of Ely, to be forthcoming on short notice whenever they may be called upon, for I know nothing

[10] Tanistry is a mode of holding estates by election, peculiar to Ireland.

else that will keep them from being dishonest when they list to take the opportunity. Thus with remembrance of my humble duty, I remain

Your honorable good lordship's humbly at command

THEOBALD BUTLER.[11]

Charles Carroll, the grandfather of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, was the first of his line to settle in Maryland. He arrived in the colony in October, 1688, bearing a commission constituting him attorney-general of the province, and was later appointed by Lord Baltimore his agent and Receiver-General.[12] Having completed his studies at the College of Douay, in France, and a course of law at the Inner Temple, London, Charles Carroll began his career in life as a secretary of Lord Powis, a favorite minister of James II. While filling this position, he conceived the purpose of leaving England and seeking in a strange land to re-establish the shattered fortunes of his name and house.

Speaking of this Charles O'Carroll, Sir William Betham says: "He was in great favour with Kings Charles II. and James II., who were not able to restore him to his paternal estate; but the latter made him grants of large tracts of land on the Monoccasy river, in the province of Maryland in North America, which was divided into three manors, of 20,000 acres each, and called, after the possessions he had lost in Ireland,

[11] Viscount of Tulleophelim, Co. Carlow. By patent of 1603 the titles of Ormond and Ossory were entailed on him after the death of Thomas, tenth Earl, without male issue, who, however, survived him.—Historical Manuscripts, Commissions, etc. Papers of the Marquis of Ormonde, App. I.

[12] Journal Royal Hist. and Arch. Association of Ireland.

viz.: Ely O'Carroll and Doughoregan. The third was called Carrolston [Carrollton]. This gentleman was also made attorney-general of the province, and his estates are still in the possession of his grandson, Charles O'Carroll of Carrolston [Carrollton], Esq." [13] A month after the arrival in Maryland of the Attorney-General, the Protestant Revolution swept aside the power of Lord Baltimore, ousting him from territory which was the gift of a royal charter; nor was the government of the colony again restored to a Catholic proprietary.

Charles Carroll married Martha Underwood of Maryland, but she dying, together with her only child, on February 14th, 1693, he married Mary Darnall, the daughter of Colonel Henry Darnall, a landed proprietor owning "The Woodyard" and "Portland Manor." The Darnalls of London had arrived in the Province about twenty years before the Protestant Revolution, and Colonel Henry Darnall, the first of his family to come to Maryland, was a kinsman of Lord Baltimore. "His Tombstone is at the Woodyard. The vane upon the housetop, the wanescotted wall, and other relics and memorials of the era of the Darnalls are all preserved with the most studious care." [14] Five only of the ten children of Charles and Mary Darnall Carroll lived to maturity. The three sons, Henry, Charles, and Daniel, were sent abroad to be educated at St. Omers;

[13] Sir Wm. Betham, Irish Researches, Part I, p. 98.

The estate of Doughoregan is now in the possession of a great-grandson of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, John Lee Carroll, Esq., of Maryland.

[14] O'Neill, Terra Mariæ.

Henry, the eldest, died at sea on his homeward voyage.[15] Charles, the second son, now became the heir to the family estates, which he actually inherited the following year when his father, the Attorney-General, died, on the 20th of July, 1720. At this time "there were *two* Charles Carrolls in Maryland, both men of great influence, wealth, and position," and both "exiles of Erin," and each "descended from leading, though totally distinct branches of the O'Carrolls of Ely."[16]

Considerable light is thrown upon the question of the origin of one of these Charles Carrolls by a correspondence on record between him and Sir Daniel O'Carroll.[17]

This correspondence, under the date "Annapolis in Maryland, Sep. 9th, 1748," says:

"This day I received the favour of yours dated London the 1st of May last, and embrace the first opportunity of acknowledging the same with an assurance of the pleasure I have in hearing the death of a gentleman of my name, and so nearly related in family, tho' by the destinies and revolution of time and states separated from our native soil where our predecessors, time immemorial, inherited both ample estates and honours. My Brother John some years ago had resolved to go to the West Indies, Spanish Islands and Main, and in his passage with other gentlemen from Barbadoes to Antique [Antigua], the vessel and all were lost, which leaves me the only son of the family you mention. *But by this, I do not expect to interest Cloulisk Ballilrit, Leap*

[15] See Appendix, Letter of Charles Carroll to "Sons Charles and Daniel."

[16] See page 7.

[17] Journal Royal Hist. and Arch. Association of Ireland.

Castletown, or any other part or a foot in Ely O'Carroll. Transplantations, sequestrations, infamous informations for loyalty, and other evils, forbid."

Commenting on this letter, the same authority says: "There can be no doubt, from the tone of the *Letter of Charles Carroll of Annapolis,* that this correspondant of Sir Daniel O'Carroll was the Representative (of the elder branch of the family). This branch expired in the male line in the person of Charles, *son of Charles of Annapolis,* and is *now represented* through the *female line* by John Carroll of the Caves." [18]

Under the new régime, met, as a Roman Catholic, on every side by the impassable barrier of the test oaths, Charles Carroll of Doughoregan never held, as his father had, an official position in the province, though, as his letters show, his influence was of not a little weight in the affairs of the Colony. Charles Carroll married his cousin Elizabeth Brooke, the daughter of Clement Brooke and Jane Sewall, and they had one child, Charles Carroll of Carrollton. An interesting document is extant referring to the trial after death of one Robert Brooke, a relative of Elizabeth Brooke and "a Popish priest," for having during life exercised the functions of his mission. This document, from the fact of alluding to "the suspending act made by order of the Queen," appears to date between the years 1702–1714 of the reign of Queen Anne. And though at that time religious persecution in Maryland would appear to have been relaxed, as a point of fact the laws of the Colony followed those of the Crown, which had absorbed the Pro-

[18] Journal Royal Hist. and Arch. Association of Ireland.

vincial Government in 1692, the year of the local revolt, and in England during the reign of Queen Anne the laws against "Jesuits and other trafficking Papists" were rigorously enforced.

Robert Brooke was doubtlessly of the same family as Charles Carroll and his wife and cousin, Elizabeth Brooke; while one of the "Councill for the Plaintiff" was Mr. Key mentioned in the subjoined document, probably an ancestor of the Marylander who some generations later wrote the words of the National Anthem.[19]

Document II.

Tis allowed by the Councill for the Plaintiff (Mr. Key and Mr. Beckingham) That the Roman Catholicks are allowed by Law, Vizt. The suspending Act made by order of the Queen, the use and Exercise of their Religion, and that no Popish Priest can be prosecuted for Exercising his function as that Law directs. To which they Act in Contradiction by indeavouring to Convict Robert Brooke, for and by Exercising the said function, and not only convict but punish him by forfeiture of his Land etc., and this after his Death. Upon which I observe.

First that he was not convicted of this or any other Crime, at the time of his Conveyance nor in his Lifetime, therefore his Deed was good.

2dly. That he was not to be prosecuted for the Exercise of his function as that Law directs, even in his lifetime, therefore much less when dead.

[19] Francis Scott Key.

3dly. That to allow him to Exercise his function, and to bring the said Exercise as proof of his being a Priest, and upon such conviction to punish him is a Contradiction.

4thly. For as to Exercise the function of a Priest supposes Priesthood, so to allow the one is to permitt the other, and therefore when and where the Law directs, that no one shall be prosecuted for Exercise of the Priestly function, there and then the same Law must direct, that the same Person is not to be prosecuted for being a Priest, because without this he cannot Exercise the function of a Priest.

5thly. Unless there be a Priest, there is no Exercise of his function, without this the People have no use of their Religion, therefore since this is allowed to the People, the function must be allowed to the Priest and therefore his Priesthood must not be punishable.

6thly. It's triffling to say we punish him not for the Exercise of his function, but for his being a Priest, because where that is innocent, this must be punishable, for what would it avail the People to have the use of their Religion allowed, or the Priest that he shall not be prosecuted for the Exercise of his function, if this same Exercise shall be taken as proof to convict him as Priest, and then to punish him for being a Priest, if this be allowed, then no use of Religion is allowed to the People, nor any Exercise of his function to the Priest unless you say it's lawfull for the Priest to do that for which he may be hanged.

Lastly supposing all the Laws *in force* and no such Liberty allowed, yet no Person is guilty in Law till con-

victed, and supposing that a posthumous conviction were allowed, it cannot retrospect or rescind a Deed which was duly Executed before Conviction, when the Person was *rectus in Curia*, as all are till convicted to be otherwise.[20]

[20] Family Papers of Charles Carroll Mactavish, Esq.

CHAPTER II.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON IN FRANCE (1754–59).

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON was born on the 9th of September, 1737, on his father's plantation at Annapolis. Young Carroll was sent abroad at an early age, to follow a course of study at Rheims and Bourges and a subsequent training in law at the Temple in London. In the reign of Elizabeth two celebrated colleges had sprung into existence, owing their origin to the penal law prohibiting Roman Catholic education during the reign of the Tudor queen. In protest against this statute, Douay was founded in France in 1568, and the College of Rheims in 1578. It was to Rheims that Charles Carroll went. Two centuries later, when the intolerant law had become a dead letter, it still remained a traditional custom with the English student of the Catholic faith to frequent the foreign colleges his fathers had sought before him. A brief glance at these times will be interesting to recall more fully the spirit of the age in which was passed the youth and early manhood of the future Signer. At the death of Queen Anne occurred the change which affected the whole *morale* of the English nation, when the sceptre of Eng-

land passed from the native rulers into the hands of the Guelph princes of the house of Hanover.

Many were the innovations that came in the train of the foreign dynasty, and the following pen-picture portrays this earlier phase of the "follies and vices" of the reign of the Georges.

"Men of all ages," says the chronicle, "drink abominably." "Fox drinks what I should call a great deal, Sheridan excessively, and Grey more than any of them; but it is in a much more gentlemanly way than our Scotch drunkards, and is always accompanied with lively, clever conversation on subjects of importance. Pitt, the model young minister, broke down in the House—owing to a debauch the night before at the Duke of Buckingham's. . . . Gambling at this time was in the highest vogue, faro and macao tables being found at fashionable houses, and on one occasion, the French Ambassador being ill, a faro table was set out in one of the apartments and the company played at cards, while the Ambassador lay in the adjoining room attended by physicians. . . . After a little while, gambling assumed another shape, that of laying on horses instead of on dice or cards." [1] Fencing was considered a necessity to a gentleman's education in a day when a rage prevailed for gaming and a devotion to Bacchus, a combination tending naturally to quarrels and duels, and the brawls of the coffee-house. "I suppose you will meet with a good fencing-master," Charles Carroll wrote his son, who was then at Rheims, "and I desire you will apply yourself to this exercise seriously. . . . A gentleman should know how to de-

[1] Fitzgerald, Courts and Cabinets.

fend himself if attacked." Charles Carroll's tastes were on the side of simplicity so far as permitted by the fashions of the day. "I hear that you dress plainly," his father wrote, "and I commend you for it," but "since it is the fashion, you should wear worked ruffles"; and he desired his son to "wear his own hair rather than a wig," which he considered "more fashionable and becoming." At this time the tie-wig had nearly superseded the hideous proportions of the periwig, and it was the time marked by the decadence of the brilliant extravagance distinguishing dress in the earlier centuries. It was the era of the gold-laced coat, the canes and costly snuff-boxes of the gentlemen, vying with the brocades and jewelled fans of the beauties of the court of the Georges, made immortal on the canvas of Gainsborough and Sir Joshua Reynolds. The latter artist painted Charles Carroll of Carrollton in London at the age of twenty-four, and his portrait comes down to us a slight and serious-eyed young man, wearing a coat of pale lilac and the high white choker of the day.[2]

Letter I.

CHARLES CARROLL OF DOUGHOREGAN TO CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

September 25th, 1754.

Dear Charley,

As I suppose you will meet with a good Fencing Master, I desire you will apply yourself to that Exercise seriously. A Gentleman should know how to defend himself if attacked.

[2] Owned by Miss Mactavish.

Your Mother is very desirous of having your Picture, and I hope you will gratify her if you can find a good Limner; let the size of the Picture be about 15 Inches long and 10 Inches wide.[3]

You had good hair when a Child, if it continues so pray wear it; it will become you better than a Wig and beside you will be more in the fashion.

I presume you have all the Letters I have wrote to you by you, it may not be improper now and then to overlook them; I never Wrote to you as a Child, and therefore you may reap some advantage from a serious perusal of them. My Dear Child, I wish you Health, Success in your Studies and a Daily increase of God's Grace and Blessings bestowed on you and I am

Dear Charley,

Most Affectionately Yours,

CHARLES CARROLL.[4]

LETTER II.

ELIZABETH BROOKE CARROLL TO HER SON, CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

October 30, 1754.

Dear Charley,

I have not received a Letter from you since I wrote to you last, which was about this time twelvemonth; your Papa has received two from you since; which gave us ye greatest pleasure. I suppose you will be at Rheims when this reaches you; let me know how that Place agrees with you and how you like it. I still insist on having your Picture and imagine you wont meet with

[3] Taken in Paris.

[4] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

any difficulty in getting it drawn where you are. Your Papa's love for you is so great and he is so well pleased with your diligence, improvement and good dispositions that he is inclined to do everything for your Satisfaction and advantage and we have reason to believe that you will continue to deserve our tenderness and care—which gives us ye greatest comfort imaginable. Your grand Mama and all other Friends are well and desire to be kindly remembered to you. I desire, my Dear, that you will be particular in writing to me. I am impatient to see you and hope, my Dear Charley, as you do, that a few Years more will bring us together. I have my Health, I thank God, very well and so has your Papa, which I know will be agreeable to you to hear. I pray God protect you. I am

My Dear Child,

Your Affectionate Mother,

ELIZABETH BROOKE CARROLL.[5]

In these days it is said Maryland evinced some signs of aptitude for reproducing in little the manners and ways of the English nobility.[6]

Annapolis had "begun to be a centre of fashion," and "astonished the County people by a poor imitation" of the life and customs followed in London.[6] Luxury, it is said, abounded, and the tables of the small colonial capital were well supplied with coarse though palatable food. At breakfast guests were served with coffee, "a dish of chocolate," and "hashed meat, venison pasty,

[5] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

[6] O'Neill, Terra Mariæ.

punch, beer or cider; while at dinner appeared beef and veal, turkey, fish and oysters." [7] Perhaps not a landmark remains of the early route from Annapolis to Baltimore in the year 1744 and later. Gentlemen riding from one to the other of these cities generally halted at "James Morris' house" near the head of the Severn; from there the next stop was made at "Widow Hughes" near the Patapsco Ferry, and thence travellers proceeded to "William Rogerston's" in Baltimore, three miles from the ferry.[7]

"King George's War," which was terminated by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, may be considered the virtual commencement of the long years of hostilities between England and France, ending finally in success for the English arms. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who was abroad in these years, sustained an unflagging correspondence with his father, and the latter wrote his son interesting details on the progress of the war. Besides these events of a general importance, there were matters of a more individual interest to a certain portion of the Maryland Colony. The introduction of the penal laws in Maryland subjected adherents of the Roman Catholic faith to the payment of a church tax and twice the amount of land tax that was paid by the members of the established creed. At the same time the former were debarred from the rights of voting and holding positions and offices of trust owing to the laws. At one time Charles Carroll decided to sell his lands and transfer his wealth to Louisiana, then under the rule of the King of France. Subsequently, however, acquiescing probably in the wishes of his son, he abandoned this

[7] O'Neill, Terra Mariæ.

intention and made his permanent home in the Colony of Maryland. In 1757 Charles Carroll of Doughoregan went abroad and visited his son, who was then in Paris. He returned to Maryland again this same year; prior to sailing he made some stay in the English metropolis. There he saw David Garrick, and wrote to his son some impressions of the English stage.

Letter III.

CHARLES CARROLL OF DOUGHOREGAN TO CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

January 1st, 1758, London.

Dear Charley

I Received ye Pleasure of yours of ye 19th Past this day; I need not tell you it was most Welcome to me.

. . . . . .

I learnt by a Gentleman who left Annapolis ye 8th, my Affairs in Maryland were in as good a Situation as I could expect.

Your letter is full and particular; a little time will reconcile you to your Sollitude; it will not appear so when you are well settled in your Studies.

By all Means study to deserve the Countenance of Mr. L'Intendant. You must Conforme to their amusements and learn to Play at Cards. And since it is ye Fashion, you should wear worked Ruffles.

I have only been at three Plays yet, but I can tell you that ye stages at Paris are not to be compared to ours. Our stages are not only much larger, but infinitely better decorated, and I prefer our Actors much to those at

Paris. Garrick in particular is both an excellent Comedian and Tragedian. The French surpass us in their Dresses and greatly in Dancing: Their stage is allso much more chaste. The licentiousness of ours is really shocking; I saw ye "Provoked Wife," which was only fit for an English Audience; and, yet, I could not observe one Lady to blush or be discomforted at the representation.

I refer you to ye Gazette for Foreign news. The Report of ye General Officers appointed to enquire into ye Causes of ye failure of our late Secret Expedition, was lately published; it seems to censure General Mordaunt, but it is not apprehended he will suffer or be disgraced. Lord Loudon is recalled and daily expected in England. Ye Ministry is much displeased with his Conduct and inactivity. With ye 4000 troops sent last October to America, its computed we have 24 [?] Regular troops there and a very speedy embarkation of 10,000 more is strongly talked of, so that allmost in spite of ill luck, Blunders, etc., we must carry our Point there. I pray God to grant you Health and Happiness and I assure you that I am

Dear Charley,

Your Most Affectionate Father,

CHARLES CARROLL.

I believe I shall leave London about ye first of March, a convoy for ye Maryland and Virginia (States) being appointed ye 28th.[8]

The sailing of merchant and passenger ships under the protection of a "convoy" was a measure of safety

[8] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

in an age when vessels were subject to attack from enemies at war or acts of piracy.

On the 28th of March, 1758, Charles Carroll sailed for Maryland in the "Duke William," and after a stormy voyage lasting nearly ten weeks arrived in Annapolis on the eleventh day of June, and in August he wrote to his son the following letter:

Letter IV.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Augst. 30th, 1758.

Dear Charley,

As this is ye safest Conveyance I shall have for a long time (our Fleet Sailing with Convoy) I with pleasure embrace it to inform you of my health. I often wish it was possible for me to inspect and direct your conduct. I am sensible you entered into ye world fully instructed as to your Duty to God and with a sincere disposition to comply with it. Chuse your Company with ye greatest Circumspection, for Evil Communications corrupt good manners. Avoid any intimacy or familiarity with ye Fair Sex. But I should chuse that Women should allmost always make part of your Company, they will contribute to soften and polish ye manners. A cheerfull, lively, easy and polite behaviour is no way inconsistent with Religion or your Duty to God. It is not only to promote your Eternal wellfare that I write thus to you; nothing contributes so much to our comfort here as Innocence and a clear Conscience; it heightens all ye pleasures of Life and enables us to bear as we ought ye Crosses and Afflictions incident to it. Ye

Advantages of a Graceful Carriage and deportment are inestimable; what strikes us at first sight is a *je ne sais quoi* in ye Person and Manner of ye Man that addresses us; hence a favourable prepossession which, if supported by good sense and judgment, facilitates everything he has to perform. But this Carriage, this Manner must be quite easy and natural; any affectation is disgusting.

Your Friends in General are well; Captain Carroll married in my Absence one Miss Thompson with a fortune of 2500 Sterl. or thereabouts.[9]

Letter V.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

April 16th. 1759

Dear Charley

I see you have taken a Tour to the South of France and I hope it not only pleased but improved you, which is the reasonable end of Travelling.

I shall keep my Estate in and nigh Annapolis, two large seats of Land containing each about 13000 Acres, my Slaves and Iron Works to ye last, so that you may chuse; but I doubt not that you will think, as I do, if you should ever know our people. I approve your Return to Paris and ye Residence you have chosen. My Compliments to all I had ye honour to know in that House, especially to Mr. Galloway and his Pupil. I would advise you to purchase only ye books most noted as Livy's, Cicero's, Horace's, Virgil's, Caesar's works of that Edition. Mr. Perkins advised me of your Bill on

[9] Family Letters of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

him for 130 Sterg. and he will by my repeated orders answer any you may draw.

I desired Mr. Crookshanks to take to his own use 10 Guineas out of ye first money he received for you; if he has not done it, pray pay it to him—it is but a trifling acknowledgment for his Civilities and Services to you and me. Why do you not tell me he is well? my sincere Compliments to him.

By your last I perceive you designed to leave Paris in November or December next. In the course of your Studies I doubt not but you will think it necessary to obtain a pretty good insight into ye Constitution of France—so far at least as concerns the Administration of Justice in Civil and Criminal matters. The method of Appeals from their Inferior to their Superior Courts, and from their Provincial Parliaments to that of Paris, which I take to be the *Dernier Ressort*, and how far the King by his Authority does or may controul ye proceedings of his Parliaments which I take to be only Courts of Justice or very little more. I also advise you to take another view of Versailles and ye Court, and such a one as to be able to give a tolerable account of each and I think by the account I have had and read of Chantilly you ought not to leave France without seeing it, ye Park and Gardens with a curious eye. I know not whether Fontainbleau or Compiègne be so much worth your notice. I mention them as places ye King honours with his Presence. Should Excursions to these and your Studies detain you until ye latter end of February, I should not be displeased, especially as you will avoid a Winter's Passage Cross ye Channel which I think almost as dangerous as a Voyage from England to Mary-

land. But this I leave to yourself; I can hardly determine anything at this distance.

What has been ye real occasion of ye shocking Executions at Lisbon? ye lugging ye Jesuits into ye Plot makes me disbelieve what I see in our Papers. I know ye Envy their superior Merit draws on them; they are not only too virtuous, but too wise to engage in Assassinations, however illy treated. Our news from Europe comes down to ye 11th of February; I see great Preparations on all sides for a vigorous and bloody Campaign, and that Don Carlos, who owes ye Crowns he has possessed, and ye Crown he is like to possess, to France —is like to side with us against her; what will not Ambition do! It is no wonder we have been so successful in America; our vast Superiority at Sea secured, and will always secure, our successes here under such a Minister as Mr. Pitt. But I cannot account for ye figure France has hitherto made on ye Continent. Here we promise ourselves no less this Campaign than ye Reduction of all Canada, and without Storms to ruin our Fleets and epidemical Distempers to destroy our Armies, I do not think our hopes too sanguine. A powerful Fleet and Army will go very early up the St. Lawrence to attack Quebec, another Army will soon attack Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Mount Reall; we shall, I believe, only act on ye defensive on ye Ohio, rebuild, enlarge and keep possession of Fort du Quesne. We want no Provisions for our numerous Forces, while ye People in Canada, as we hear, are starving.

Your Mama and I are perfectly well; we love you tenderly and daily pray to God to bless you in every sense; your Grandmama and all Friends are well and

desire to be remembered to you particularly they whom you salute. Farewell and be assured that I am,

Dear Charley,

Your Most Affectionate Father,

CHARLES CARROLL.[10]

LETTER VI.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Octr. 6th. 1759.

Dear Charley,

Had I expected you would have left Paris in ye beginning of September past, I should before this have wrote much to ye Purport of what follows. As to ye settling you in ye Temple, I have been full enough to Mr. Perkins on that head, who I doubt not had Chambers ready for you on your Arrival, if, as you ought and as I directed in mine of ye 16th of last April, you gave him due notice of ye time you proposed to be with him. If this meets you in London, it will meet you in an open and wide Ocean of danger: hitherto you have had friends to advise with, and good Example constantly before you; now you can only rely on God's grace, your own prudence and ye good principles instilled into you by a virtuous Education: I beg you will never fail daily and sincerely to implore ye first, without which ye other two can be of no Service. In your Situation ye greatest Resolution will be necessary to withstand ye many Temptations you will be exposed to: so abandoned will you find most men as to be ashamed of even appearing virtuous. I do not desire to seclude you from Society or innocent pleasures, but I advise you to be very cir-

[10] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

cumspect in ye choice of your Company, and to watch so that your amusements may not have any ill tendency. Relaxation is even necessary not only to your health, but to a proper prosecution of your Studies. Many reasons ought to incline you to a close and serious Study of ye Law; it is a shame for a Gentleman to be ignorant of ye Laws of his Country and to be dependent on every dirty Pettyfogger whose Interest it may be to lead him by such a dependance into endless difficulties: on ye other hand how commendable is it for a Gentleman of an independant fortune not only to stand in need of mercenary Advisers but to be able to advise and assist his Friends, Relations and Neighbours of all sorts; what weight must such a one have on ye Circle of his Acquaintance? How endearing may he make himself to all by a benevolent use of his knowledge. Suppose you should be called upon to act in any publick Character, what an awkward figure would you make without ye knowledge of ye Law either as a Legislator, Judge or even an Arbitrator of differences among your Neighbours and friends. The Law in England is not only a road to riches but to ye highest honours. It is true—as things now stand—you are shut out from ye Bar, but you are not debarred from acting as a Counsellor. As I before observed, ye knowledge of it is absolutely necessary to every private Gentleman of fortune, who has ye least idea of being independent. I do not send you to ye Temple to spend (as many do) four or five Years to no purpose; I send you to study and labour; it is what I expect from you, do not disappoint my hopes; you have hitherto done well; all that you have done was but a preparation to do this well; finish worthyly, and apply

as if your whole and sole Dependence was to be on ye knowledge of ye Law.

. . . . . .

I understand that lately in one of our Universities there is a Chair established for a Professor of ye Common Law; this has been long wished for; whether ye Professor or his method answers ye expectation of ye publick I know not, but it is certainly worth your while to enquire whether you may not reap some advantage from it, and to judge yourself, you may in Vacation time go to hear him. I approve your Acquaintance with such of your school-fellows as are men of family, and good morals; little Tours at proper times to their Country Seats will be a Relaxation and amusement:

. . . . . .

You will meet with several of your Countrymen in London, with some of them in ye Temple or other Inns of Court; treat them politely; if you should mention them in your Letters, let it be to their advantage, but with them, as with all others, be reserved until you know them. . . .

As to your Expenses, I will not tie you down to a certain sum. When you are rambling on Parties of pleasure and Amusement, Mr. Perkins is your Cashier, and, upon your shewing him this, he will supply you with what money you may want. You will see Messrs Corbie, Pointz, Baker and Murphy, make my Compliments to them. I wrote you so lately, that I have no news to tell you, but that by our latest Accounts Wolfe will not take Quebec, which he has almost reduced to ashes; but, after laying ye Country waste, he will return to Louisburgh and our Colonies. Amherst seems to design nothing

more than to secure his Conquests by erecting a strong Fort at Crown Point and several small ones to keep up his Communication with our Colonies. Our Intelligence from England is as late as ye 26 of July; we with impatience expect to hear ye Event of ye French preparations for an Invasion. . . .

My dear child, I hope you will never enter into any treaty of marriage without my Consent and previous knowledge.

Your Mother and I offer our daily prayers to ye God of Mercies to avert all Dangers from you, to grant you health and every other blessing. We are both well and I am, Dear Charley,

Your Most Affectionate Father,

CHARLES CARROLL.

P.S. I still persist in ye resolution to sell my estate here, since my return I have sold to ye value of 2000 Ster. Upon a peace I am in hopes my lands will go off better and faster; what I have sold has not been under value.

I wonder you mention nothing of your great preparations which, our papers say, are making along ye Coasts of France for an invasion; we think here it's all puff. But maybe, as you see ye people in Paris very sanguine and sure of success, you are willing to be in London in ye beginning of September, to observe ye Effects such a strange Change of ye Scene would produce; but as I do not believe ye French to be Don Quixotes, altho' I may allow them to be in general Gascons, I think they may keep at home and that consequently you will stay at Paris to ye Spring, and accordingly I direct to you at Paris.[11]

[11] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

CHAPTER III.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON IN ENGLAND (1759–61).

Charles Carroll of Carrollton went from Paris to London, in 1757, to occupy his chambers, engaged for him by Mr. Perkins in the Temple. Mr. Perkins, a merchant of London and the owner of the ship "The Two Sisters," sailing under Captain Henry Carroll, it appears, was a sort of guardian to young Carroll during the latter's term of student-life abroad.

Frequent allusion is made to these two gentlemen in the letters of the elder Carroll, and to Mr. Perkins Charles Carroll was referred in many matters of business. Whether Captain Carroll was a relative of the Carrolls of Doughoregan is not made clear, but in his frequent crossings of the Atlantic he became a messenger between the father in Maryland and his son in England.

Other names familiar in the page of Maryland's history are found side by side with that of Charles Carroll of Carrollton in the records of the venerable Temple. There was Lloyd Dulany, the son of Daniel Dulany the brilliant orator, "the Pitt of Maryland," as he was

called,[1] and Edmund Jennings, whose father was the Attorney-General. To Edmund Jennings Charles Carroll later addressed many of his spirited and impassioned letters denouncing in stirring words the "odious Stamp Act," those historic documents heralding the approach of the coming revolt.

William Paca, Edmund Key, and Henry Rozier swelled the little band of patriot Marylanders, stanch pillars of the Province, in the future struggle for justice and independence.

Letter VII.

CHARLES CARROLL OF DOUGHOREGAN TO CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

Janry: 9th, 1759.

Dear Charley,

I have at last had ye pleasure of your two Letters of August 14th and September 27th. It gave us no small Joy to hear by Mr. Digges that you were safely arrived at London; we asked him many more Questions about you than he could answer.

Pray let me know in what Court of the Temple you are and how to direct to you. I am glad to hear your Chambers are handsome, convenient, and that they please you. Mr. Perkins writes me that if you like them and will have them for three Years more, ye owner will paint them. I think you must stay at least four years in ye Temple, you cannot acquire a perfect knowledge of ye Law in less, if in so short a time, and that knowledge is Essential to you, as I shall leave you

[1] O'Neill, Terra Mariæ.

to dispute many things of Consequence which ye present Injustice of ye times will not permit me in prudence to contest; therefore endeavour to get your Chambers fitted up to please you by engaging to stay in ye Chambers as long as you stay in ye Temple, and in case he will not fit them upon those Terms, agree to stay in them three years longer. We have not yet seen ye Snuff Box or ye 28th *Lettre Édifiant*, Mr. Digges not having his Baggage with him, when he past through Annapolis; however we thank you for both. A student who applies as he ought, is not supposed to be too often or too long from his Books, and prudence must direct you in this as well as on other ocasions. You cannot do without a Servant; if he is not sober and orderly turn him away without any Ceremony untill you get such a one. As you become acquainted with ye Town you will be better able to provide and chuse for yourself.

I am sensible ye Streights people in France are reduced to make ye Discharge of Debts difficult and tedious. I was glad to serve Manjan, a poor Accadian here; what will become of him or ye rest of them God knows. Ye French seem to be so distressed everywhere, that upon a peace they [2] cannot reasonably hope for relief from them; [3] thus will they fall Victims to our Cruelty, by which they have been reduced from a State of Ease and Plenty to Misery, Poverty and Rags. We have long expected the interesting and curious Letter you promised your Mama; we suppose, ye Journal you promise us, would be ye Subject of it. What you say about ye Administration of Justice in France, ye

[2] The Acadians.
[3] The French.

Independence of ye Parliaments of each other and ye manner of evoqing Cases from ye Parliaments to ye great Councill is said with Judgment and perspicuity and is satisfactory. I am not more displeased with ye Malice and Violence of our people than with ye meanness and injustice of our Proprietary and those acting under him. Gratitude if they had any, would oblige them to protect and countenance us.

By my former Letters and by ye papers you are fully informed of our Successes in America. Vandreuil intended to attempt to retake Quebec this Winter and in order to it, had ordered 20,000 pair of Snow Shoes to be made; he may be well supplied with Snow Shoes, but, in my opinion, his Troops, his Magazines of Arms, Ammunition and Provisions are no way equal to such an Undertaking, and all Canada for want of Supplies must submit next Spring or Summer: Louisiana and ye rest of their Islands may in all probability share ye same fate, if our Ministry think proper to avail themselves of ye irresistible Superiority which our Naval Force gives us. I see by our latest Accounts which come as late as ye 15th of October, that ye French still threaten to invade England; it seems to me a pure Gasconade; if they did not dare to stir out their Ports, when we had such powerful Squadrons before Quebec and in ye West Indies, will they attempt it upon ye return of those Squadrons, which will add so much to our Superiority? If they attempt it and land, it must be miraculous and I think 50,000 Regulars will embarass us very much. You will be able to inform me whether ye French ever seriously designed invasion, what ye sentiment of ye people at Paris were on ye subject, and

whether Prince Charles was to accompany them. I do not see that they pretend to assist him; they must be very sanguine if they proposed a Conquest.

I am,

Dear Charley,

Your Most Affectionate Father,

CHARLES CARROLL.[4]

LETTER VIII.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

May 1st. 1759.

Dear Charley

I received from Mr. Digges ye Snuff Box; I think it genteel and your Mother is much pleased with it and thanks you for it: ye hand it comes from greatly enhances ye Value of it. I would have you entered of ye Temple and I desire you will take proper Testimonials of your Admission. Plays, Parties of pleasure and Tours into Different parts of ye Country I grant you, but these I grant you only at proper times as necessary Relaxations to enable you to prosecute ye studies with fresh vigour. I may be personally known to a few of our Roman Catholic Gentry, to a few more by report, but not in such a manner to lay you under ye least necessity of an Extraordinary Expense; endeavour chiefly to keep such Company as will value you more for your intrinsick than extrinsick ornaments; by one set you may be amused, by ye other instructed and improved—and if such Company cannot be found in ye Temple seek it elsewhere. I have, as you observe, a

[4] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

great Confidence in your Discretion, Prudence and Virtue, but as evil Communications corrupt good manners, avoid by all means ye Company of Libertines who will endeavour to laugh you out of your Duty: to your Maker, nothing on Earth can be so Contemptible as such wretches. I challenge six Letters a year as a Debt by promise; if you will generously fling in a few more, you will give your Mama and me great pleasure. Perhaps you took ye little Rebuke I gave you about your unsteadiness as to ye time of your Departure from Paris, your not mentioning anything about ye French preparations for an Invasion, and your not sending ye curious and interesting Letter, a little too seriously. I may perchance again now and then chide you, but you must know a tender parent is always more disposed to receive a Child's Apologies favourably than to censure him; but I cannot help being concerned for ye Loss of that Interesting Letter, as we are deprived of ye Satisfaction it would have given us: However ye Reasons for not giving us ye particulars of it which you remember, are solid and become your Modesty. By your next I expect ye Account of your Expenses since your arrival in London; do not be satisfied that you do not trifle away your money, but to accustom you (by keeping Accounts) to know yourself how your money goes and how to regulate your Expenses. Pay no Bills or Accounts without taking Receipts, and when you have learned ye Method of Book-keeping, raise Accounts with every one with whom you may have dealings and buy a Book to this purpose. I find you begin to think that neither Maryland or any of ye British Dominions are a desirable Residence for a Roman Catholic; without a change in ye

Scene, they certainly are not so. A change of climate might shorten my Days, but when I have run my Course you may fix where you please. If you have not perfected yourself in ye Art of Riding you may do it in London; you may also do ye same in Fencing and Dancing. I know not whether you have yet studied Controversy; I would have you at least acquainted with it in such a Degree, as not only to satisfy yourself when that Subject becomes a Topick of Conversation. In order to that I now send you four Volumes: entitled *Preuves de la Religion de Jésus Christ* with which you may begin. I then recommend ye Bishop of Meaux "Histoire des Variations"; you may next read England's Conversion and Reformation Compared and you will find ye shortest way to end Disputes. I left an order with Mr. Perkins on one Mr. Maccarty for £9. 0. 6, being so much won of him at Whist at Toms' Coffee house; he lodged in Gray's Inn, and his Finances running low he retired into ye Country. Mr. Poyntz knew him and may inform you where he may be heard of; he is a short full-faced Gentleman: as it is a Debt of Honour I doubt not his paying it, if you can find where he is. Yours of December, by Captain Macgachan, ye 21st of March; Daun[5] played ye Generalls Fink and Wunch [?], and it was looked upon as Popish news, but unfortunately ye Papers confirmed it. It would be in vain to send you any Peach Trees, unless I could send our sun with them; our finest Sorts come from England and are here improved in richness and flavour by ye warmth of our

[5] Daun, the Austrian commander-in-chief, compelled the Prussian General Fink with 12,000 men to surrender at Maxen in November, 1759.

Climate. Mr. Lawson and those you Salute return you their Compliments with great sincerity and it gives Mr. Lawson great pleasure to think his Son will have ye good Luck to have you in ye Temple to instruct; advise and introduce him into a good Acquaintance, which I am persuaded you will do by Inclination. You will probably meet with many interested Civilities from ye Merchants: it might seem to be pride not to accept now and then their Invitations, but do it so seldom and in such a manner as not to make yourself cheap; behave in this manner to all others when you have ye least Grounds to surmise their Doors are not open to you by pure good nature, Esteem and Benevolence.

Since I began this I received yours of ye 26th of December, by Captain Macgachan, ye 21st of March; you are a good boy for writing so often, but I see by it you do not keep a letter Book for it was in yours of ye 10th of December, you mentioned ye Receipt of ye 4800 Livers: in yours of ye 16th of November, you told me ye Money was not paid. As your Mama knows ye Subject of ye interesting Letter you promised her, she bid me tell you she is ye more uneasy at ye Loss of it and wishes it could be recovered and may be it may be recovered by your writing to Bourges; she, you may be assured, will have Curiosity enough to enquire and hear what Messrs. Rosier and Plater can say of you, but she thinks that they know you not so well as ye Gentlemen who wrote that Letter, and may not have so good an opinion of their Discernment. Your Cousin Rachael Darnall presents her service to you and returns you many thanks for your kind Compassion and Concern for her.[6]

[6] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

The politico-religious quarrel which had caused a schism in Maryland's social ranks had some of its strongest supporters among the leaders of fashion at Annapolis,[7] and it is evident the counsels of Charles Carroll to his son were rather on the side of holding aloof from those he regarded as the enemies of his faith. It is also apparent that, although a "Papist," Charles Carroll had much influence in the Colony, if not a voice in public affairs, and the fact that he was at this time on friendly terms with the Governor of the Province led him to hope a movement for the double taxing of the Roman Catholics would "hardly meet with the Governor's concurrence."

Letter IX.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

July 14th, 1760.

Dear Charley,

1760 Since mine of ye 1st. of May I have your
Feby. 30 several Letters as p. Margin. I have been
April 10. so full as to your Allowance that it is unnecessary to say more to you on that head than to tell you I think a Student in ye Temple cannot apply himself properly to his Studies and spend above £300 a year; whether you spend £250 or 300 a year, is to me immaterial, but to you it cannot be so, if by spending your money you mispend your time, which to you is more precious than Money. I do not mean by this admonition to imprison you in your Chambers; your health (which is most dear

[7] O'Neill, Terra Mariæ.

to me) requires a proper Relaxation and I am sorry to hear yours in February was not so good as usual, and I should be alarmed at it, if I was not informed by Messrs. Buchanan and Browne that you were very well and in good spirits when they left you. I intend you shall stay in ye Temple full four years from ye time you entered; if you employ that time well, you may acquire such a foundation as may be necessary for you readily hereafter to turn to proper Books and Cases on Occasion. You vainly at present fancy you might study here; might not every Gentleman in ye Temple say as much of his own home? The distractions and various Occupations of a man once entered into ye World make such a Scheme almost chimerical. A long series of years, Reason and Experience shew that it was necessary to have particular places appointed for ye Study of ye Law, and that in such a knowledge of it is soonest and best acquired; I might add that it is not to be acquired any other way; this I say from Experience.

You call ye stay you are still to make in Europe a Banishment; had I listened to nature and been only guided by Inclination and a mistaken love, I should never have parted with you. By ye Course of Nature you are long to survive me, and therefore a sincere love guided by Reason prompts me to make ye rest of your life happy, easy and ornamental by giving you ye best Education, and in particular by giving you an Opportunity of acquiring a perfect knowledge of ye Law without which I may say a Gentleman is unfinished. Pray how came you to dine with Mr. Sharpe? I hardly think you paid him a Visit: I conjecture our Governor wrote to him; if so, it was kind and genteel in him. He and I

are at present on good terms; and were a Law now to be passed to double Tax ye Roman Catholics, it would hardly meet with his Concurrence. You say Mr. Calvert returned your Visit; this implies a previous Visit paid by you, and yet from what I wrote to you October 6th, I hardly think you took that step; this shews you cannot be too full, explicit and circumstantial in your letters. What you said to Mr. Calvert was very proper, and what you omitted to say would still have been more proper; you cannot deal too freely with him, provided you keep within ye Bounds of Decency and Good Manners which I am confident you will do; if he can bear truth with temper and patience, he will profit by it; if he should prove shy on Account of your frankness, you will not be a loser. You have seen Lord Baltimore, perhaps you have since seen him; if so, may be you can give me his Character. If our House of Commons could have their way, such is their Malice that they would not only deprive us of our property but our Lives. Who would live among men of such dispositions that could live elsewhere?

The power of enacting Laws and several other powers and priviledges granted to the Proprietary and people are derived from ye Charter, a Copy whereof, if I have time, I will send you by ye Fleet; at ye same time I would send you a Body of our Laws if it were possible to get them and then you might see ye several Laws by which we are injured; But I question whether a compleat set is to be found in Maryland unless on Record. A private Gentleman has offered to collect them for ye press and has spent a good deal of time and Money to that End, but such is ye meanness of our Assembly that

it will not encourage ye Undertaker by a proper Gratuity to carry on ye work. I embrace every opportunity of getting rid of my Real property. Valuable Lands and slaves shall be kept to ye last that you may chuse for yourself and make yourself as happy as possible; it is my greatest Study and Concern to make you so. By ye War I am not well stocked with old Madeira Wine; I have therefore wrote to Mr. Betencourt, my Correspondent there, to ship you a Pipe of choice Wine and to direct it to Mr. Perkins for your use.

Drawing is a pretty accomplishment, and I wish you could spare time to attend to it, but let nothing divert you from the study of the Law, nor break in upon your hours destined to that Study. I remember something of an old distribution of time laid down by Cook or Littleton *Sex horas somno* etc; your Constitution may require eight; if so, take two from ye *quatuor orabis*, if you employ not more than one in that Duty, another hour is at your Disposal, which with what you may take from ye *Sacris Camoenis* will give you leisure for many things; ye waste of time is ye worst sort of prodigality: But I fancy when this Distribution of time was in fashion, there were no play houses, Coffee Houses, Renelaghs, Vauxhalls, Routs, Operas etc, because ye old sage, though never so stiff and formal, must have allotted now and then some hours to these genteel and necessary Amusements.

Messrs. Browne and Buchanan are prudent, discreet, deserving Young Gentlemen; I am persuaded their trip to Maryland will be of great service to them and answer Mr. Perkins' Expectations. My regard for Mr. Perkins and former Acquaintance with these Gentlemen

and your Recommendation of them entitle them to every act of Friendship I can shew them. Mr. Stephenson is settled a great way from me at New Town on Chester River; I shall take a proper Notice of him when opportunity offers. Your Resignation to stay in ye Temple as long as I shall appoint, is a Continuance of that Duty and Obedience you have always paid us, and gives us a very sensible Satisfaction; in return we will endeavour to make that Duty always easy to you by requiring nothing of you but what we shall be persuaded will be for your true Interest. Your Mama is very well and much pleased with your Letter; we love you as much as Parents can love a deserving Son. Bless you and pray to God to do ye same. I am

dear Charley,

Your Most Affectionate Father,

CHARLES CARROLL.[8]

The following letter written by Charles Carroll of Carrollton to his mother makes mention of "young Mr. Lawson," another Marylander domiciled in the Temple in the seventh decade of the eighteenth century. Mr. Lawson had just sustained the loss of his father, and the following year, on the 12th of March, 1761, the mother of Charles Carroll of Carrollton died after an illness, it is said, of short duration.

[8] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.
After the Portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

Letter X.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO HIS MOTHER.

Aug. 12th, 1760

Dear Mama,

This is in answer to your last letter of the 10th. of January 1760. I was greatly disappointed at Mr. Browne's not arriving with the Fleet and sorry to hear his stay was occasioned by sickness. Pray remember me to his fellow traveler Mr. Buchanan. Be not uneasy about my health. I enjoy it pretty well: frequent colds, sometimes attended with diziness and swimming of the head are my only ailments. These I attribute to the dampness of the air. I am much obliged to Messrs. Browne, Rosier, Buchanan and others for their character and opinion of me; I am too sensible, it is owing more to their good nature and friendship, than to any real merit of mine. I would not have you believe all that is reported: few are sincere enough to speak their thoughts, especially if disagreeable to those they value and regard: you will be greatly disappointed at my arrival in Maryland to see how undeserving I am of such encomiums: tho' parental love and prejudice may even then conceal a number of faults: what I say is not dictated by an affected modesty, worse than pride; 'tis the sentiment of my mind: I detest dissimulation and dissemblers.

If ever any expression slighting of the ladies escaped my pen, my heart, I am sure, was innocent and not of intelligence with my hand. What happiness on earth

without the ladies? They polish, and soften ye manners; in their company the Englishman, such is the force of beauty and of wit, slights his tobacco-pipe and coffee house politics; reduced to defend his own heart, he forgets his speculative battles; for my own part I can't conceive how my heart remains still unsubdued; no Lady at least can boast an entire conquest. I can give no other reason for this Phenomenon, but that no one ever thought it worth her while. But should some fair maid captivate my heart I might attempt to shake off my fetters, for even now I am frightened at the clinking of matrimonial chains: those are never to be broke!

My expressions of love and tenderness for you when a boy were the language of native simplicity: the dictates of a heart that could not then, nor will now dissemble its real sentiments: these are unalterably the same: my love, my affection, my affectionate concern for my Parents are not diminished by length of time and place: they are only strengthened and confirmed by reason which teaches me to acknowledge and be grateful for the greatest obligations from the best of Parents.

Pray return my kind compliments to Mr. Tasker; I remember his daughter and the present he gave me, but not the promise of a ball at my return to Annapolis. Mr. Lawson's death gave me a real concern: his loss is great to his widow and family—I pray my best wishes to them: Young Mr. Lawson was, when I saw him last, in good health and spirits. I desire to be affectionately remembered to my cousin Rachael Darnall: I wait with impatience the long promised favour of a letter from her: I am sorry to have been thus long deprived of this satisfaction, but particularly to hear her delay has been

occasioned by illness: I wish her an entire recovery of her health and all possible happiness.

I am

dear Mama

Your most dutiful and loving Son

CHARLES CARROLL.[9]

LETTER XI.

CHARLES CARROLL OF DOUGHOREGAN TO CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

Sepr. 17th. 1760.

Dear Charley,

By my letter to Sir Thomas you will see that I have formally solicited in favour of Mr. Ireland; I proposed he should advance four or £500, to Purchase him a seat of Land, some slaves and to enable him to build, and improve the Lands. You must know that Mr. Ireland is related to Sir Thomas who was his Guardian; that he had an Estate in Yorkshire of four or £500 a year which he indirectly ran thro' having married before he was eighteen years old, and having been severall years in ye French and Austrian Service. Ye latter he quitted in 1745 for a particular Reason. He is a polite well-bred and very agreeable Gentleman, and altho' his former conduct may have given Sir Thomas reason to be displeased with him, his present wants and fruitless industry deserves his Compassion. I have also formally solicited Lord Montague in favour of Mr. Ireland. His Lordship was so polite as to express a desire to serve Mr. Ireland, but his ability not being equal to his Inclina-

[9] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

tion, he gave me Hopes he would use his Interest with Sir Thomas in Mr. Ireland's favour. If you be acquainted with His Lordship, pray put him in mind of this. I also solicited Mr. Molineux, Sir Thomas's Chaplain. He is an old Acquaintance of mine and promised to use what Interest he had to serve Mr. Ireland. Pray put him in Mind of this, presenting my Respects to him, and let me know what steps he took in Complyance with his Promise.

Mr. Browne went this day hence to take his Passage for England. Perhaps it would have been better, if he had stayed in London: He is young and wants Judgement and Discretion; he lately was taken in too deeply at ye Hazard Tables, it will puzzle him to settle ye Account of that loss with his Uncle.

Cousin Macnamara is not returned to us. If he is still in London, what is he doing, what success has he had, or had he any Prospect of success?

You are no doubt acquainted with Mr. Dulany tho' I suppose not often with him. Many here think he will come in Government; that he will try for it, if he sees any Prospect of Success, I doubt not. How little doe we understand our true Happiness. In case of success he will be miserable, for he cannot bear Contradiction or Opposition and that he will certainly meet with.

In ye fore part of this letter you see what I wish to be done for Mr. Ireland; you are acquainted with Sir Thomas's sons; they were your Fellow Collegians. You may perchance influence them to incline their Father to assist him: neither they or their Father will miss four or £500 Pounds, that sum would make Ireland happy and independant; it is shocking to see a Gentle-

man reduced to hard Labour, especially when he is a man of great Merrit. I have advanced a great deal of Money to purchase a pretty seat of Land for Mr. Ireland within two miles of my Houses at Eton Ridge. I have built convenient Houses on it and I have lately Bought two Negroes for him. You are not to let Sir Thomas know what I have done for Mr. Ireland, least he should be less solicitous to serve him. Mr. Ireland has for two years past overlooked all my Plantations at Eton Ridge to my great satisfaction and Interest. He is an excellent Manager, very obliging, active and diligent, his Integrity is such that I am quite at ease as to everything I have committed to his care. He lives where Shalmerdine lived and it is a great Pleasure to me to have so agreeable a companion, when I visit my Estate. You may, from what I have said, see how much I have it at Heart to serve him, and consequently will not omit anything in your power to answer my Intention. Captain Carroll knows him well and can give you a more ample Account of him. God Bless you and Grant you Health. I am,

dear Charley, Your Most Affectionate Father

CHARLES CARROLL.

P.S. I leave my letter to Mr. Browne open for your Perusal; having done that, seal and deliver it. The young lady says, you have ye Polish of a French Education.[10]

[10] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

Letter XII.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Dear Charley,

I have your two letters of ye 11th and 26th of last April with all ye Books and Papers mentioned in them, for which I thank you; they were very acceptable. I really believe that neither France, Spain, or even all Europe confederated can put a stop to our Victorious Arms, if we confine ourselves to such operations as can be effectually promoted by our Fleets; ye taking of Havannah and ye Reduction of Cuba, which we have the greatest reason to expect to hear daily, will be a strong proof of this. Lewis ye 14th was sincerely disposed to restore ye Exiled family. Since his Death ye Chevalier and his Son have been but Cats Paws in ye hands of France, who may now have good reason to repent their double dealing with that unfortunate family. I am ye more astonished that ye King of France has abandoned ye Jesuits, as I cannot see in ye *Arrêts* of Parliament, and other Papers published by them and others against them, anything but gross barefaced Calumny unsupported by facts of reason. Inscrutable are ye ways of God, *Quos vult perdere, primo dementat.*

In my letter to Dulany of ye 10th of Sept among other things—I wrote him as follows: "I submit to you (if an Appeal can be obtained) whether it will not be ye most eligible way to you and my other partners of terminating my claim on you and your claims on me." I did suppose you would have kept a copy of that letter; you would have seen by it, I sent ye proceedings to Dulany at his own Request.

I can't tell whether I ought to condemn your want of Relish for ye Races at Newmarket; ye seeing Horses run may not be very amusing, but to see such Company as meets at ye Races would, I think, be very entertaining to any young man of Curiosity; ye world must be known by going into it, a knowledge of it in theory you will find very defective. In yours of ye 13th of last October you promised me a Journal of your Tour to ye North by ye Fleet; you promised to write to Mrs. Darnall; a gentleman should take care to keep his word, you procrastinate too much; never put off untill to-morrow what can be done to-day; to-morrow brings its own business. I formerly told you to minute down things as they occur to you; by so doing you will always have sufficient matter for a Letter ready: you may write your letters as you have leisure: ye Date may be ye last thing—I was much pleased with ye Russian Voyages from Asia to America. Captain Carroll has spent two nights with me; whenever we were alone you were chiefly ye Subject of our conversation. I hear you have promised to spare Dulany a quarter Cask of Madeira: I wonder how he could ask it of you; you were in ye Right to let him have it, for merit must not always be ye motive of our Beneficence.

Pray continue to let me know all ye steps taken against ye Jesuits in France. God bless you. I am

Dear Charley,

Your Most Affectionate Father,

CHARLES CARROLL.[11]

[11] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

CHAPTER IV.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON IN ENGLAND (1760–61).

In the autumn of 1760 it was reported that Colonel Tasker of Maryland was dangerously ill, and his recovery a matter of grave doubt. "Should his death occur," wrote Charles Carroll to his son, "many applications will be made for the place he enjoys viz.: the Secretary's Office." "In that case," he continued, "I hope that among other applicants for the Office, my Cousin by the whole blood will not be so wanting to himself as not to lay in his claim." This "Cousin" was Henry Darnall, a relative of Lord Baltimore and therefore of Cecilius Calvert himself, and on this fact doubtless Charles Carroll built his hope of success when he recommended the petition to the good offices of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Letter XIII.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Dec. 12th, 1760.

Dear Charley,

I am very solicitous Mr. Darnall should succeed in ye application he intends to make, and have therefore

wrote you ye letter of this Date designedly that you should show it to Mr. Calvert with ye paragraphs of ye severall letters referred to in it, relating to ye same subject. Your manner of introducing ye letter to Mr. Calvert must be by telling him, your wishes to have a Relation succeed, who appears to be dear to your Father, had prompted you to a step which, maybe you ought, in Prudence, not have taken.

It is possible ye letter may help Mr. Darnall; it cannot hurt him. As to us it cannot have any ill effect, for we need not give ourselves ye least concern whether Mr. Calvert be pleased or displeased. In case of ye Colonel's Death make your Application on Receipt of the letter.

Your Most Affectionate Father,

CHARLES CARROLL.

P.S. You may think ye several letters you are directed to shew Mr. Calvert, are wrote too freely and may give Offence. Should he shew ye least Resentment whether by word or by his Behaviour, ask him who has most reason to be offended . . . [Hiatus due to writing being effaced.] . . . without offence and contrary to all Justice and ye Privileges and liberty Promised by ye Charter and one of ye first laws enacted here in Violation of ye solemn engagements and Promises made to us and our Ancestors by his Ancestors, proclamation inviting and encouraging our Ancestors to settle here, or he who has acknowledged to you that by Certificates from Persons in Power here he was convinced of our Innocence and yet by passing laws which Double tax us consented to oppress us. It is necessary on some occasions to be firm and resolute and to show a proper Resent-

ment, and I think Mr. Calvert, in particular, ought to be treated in this manner.[1]

When making application on behalf of Henry Darnall, Charles Carroll had some conversation with Cecilius Calvert touching the Catholic question. It is sufficiently indicated in a letter from Charles Carroll of Doughoregan that what passed on that occasion referred to the double taxing of the Roman Catholics by the Maryland Assembly, and it is hardly necessary to read between the lines to perceive the scarcely veiled imputation of the elder Carroll, denouncing in vigorous words what he considered the perfidy of Mr. Calvert.

Letter XIV.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

May 20th. 1761.

Dear Charley,

You acted very prudently in your Application to Mr. Calvert, but I am surprised he should tell you that ye Roman Catholics made not ye least opposition to ye Bill here, while depending. I cannot suppose a man of his family and station in Life would stoop to advance a falsity; I must then conclude he has been imposed on, or, at least, that he has not had so plain and faithfull an Account of ye Transactions Relating to ye Act of Assembly double Taxing us, as I think he ought to have had from hence; and, therefore, pray present my compliments to him; read to him what I have wrote and further tell him that whoever informed him that ye Roman Catholics made not ye least opposition to ye Bill

[1] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

while depending here, told him a most notorious lie, for ye Roman Catholics Petitioned ye Upper House first, and then ye Government against ye Bill. Their petitions were long, circumstantial and very remarkable; that especially to the Government—for it is from that petition, ye Upper House was furnished with ye remarkable passages inserted in their Message to ye Lower House in ye Session of Assembly begun ye 28th. of March 1758; which Message, that is, ye part of it which relates to ye Roman Catholics, Mr. Calvert will find in ye Pages 65, 66, and 67 of ye printed Proceedings. I do not care to mortify Mr. Calvert who can urge nothing to excuse his Family's ingratitude to ye Roman Catholics, and therefore I drop this Subject.

Pray give my Service to Cousin Macnamara and tell him his sons are well, and that I would have wrote him on ye Subject he desired, had there been ground given . . . [Continuation effaced.]

Upon Receipt of yours which I am now answering I concluded . . . [Original writing effaced.] . . . was intrusted with ye Pamphlets etc., you mention, I spoke to him, and he told me they were sent from his Ship in Patowmack by a Sloop bound to Annapolis and Patapsco; in short they are lost.

I wish this may find you not only resigned but in some measure composed under our great Misfortune of ye loss of your dear Mama; you have not such images before you constantly to bring and keep her in your thoughts as I have, and yet I would not have it otherways for there is a sort of melancholy pleasure and Satisfaction in continually thinking of one I loved so tenderly—especially as my thoughts are accompany'd

with ye comfortable and animating hope of enjoying her in a happy Endless Eternity. You are left the Pledge of our Love and friendship, in you my whole Satisfaction is centred, you are ye Object of all my Care; and here it occurs to me to acquaint you that I have a Will executed, constantly by me, by which everything I have (Trifles excepted) is yours. I mention this, least you should have a moment's uneasiness on that account. You shall never feel any that can be prevented by ye constant care and attention of, dear Charley,

Your Most Affectionate Father,

CHARLES CARROLL.[2]

LETTER XV.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

July, 1761.

I acknowledge ye Receipt of yours of March 28th 1761. Is it not some satisfaction to you to see by ye Certificate I sent you that your Grandfather was entered of ye Temple, as ye Law is a Liberal profession, and may not your Grandson be as well pleased to see that you were of ye Temple as you are to know that your grandfather belonged to that Society? Ye Expence you mention of Entry and Commons is but a trifle. Should ye attendance expose you either to bad or disagreeable company; if you must in consequence of your being entered of ye Temple keep bad or disagreeable company, decline it. Is it not possible by a gratuity properly placed, or by some other expedient, to be called to ye Bar without taking ye Oaths? Have there not been instances of this sort? Enquire carefully.

[2] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

Mr. Meighan promised to send me "O'Connor's Translation of Keatings History of Ireland" with upwards of 160 Coats of Arms of Ancient Irish noble families and their Genealogy, among which are some of ye O'Carrolls. If O'Connor's Translation be a faithfull and full one, Keating, I think, does not deserve ye merit given him by many. Notwithstanding ye Ravages and Revolutions in Ireland, ye destruction of their Records and Histories, I think materials enough have escaped ye jaws of Ruin to compile a more Complete and coherent History of Ireland than has yet fallen into my hands or knowledge; ye Duty all Irish men owe to ye Glory and Honour of their Country should prompt them to promote and encourage such a Work. But ye difficulty would be, I apprehend, greater to find an impartial than an able hand. If ye author should be supported by ye descendants of ye Ancient Irish, ye ill treatment their ancestors met with might, if possible, be exagerated; if he should be patronized by ye present possessors, we may suppose truth would, at least, be veiled to conceal their original meanness, and ye unjust, shocking and barbarous treatment of ye Ancient Possessors; so that I fear such a History cannot reasonably be hoped for.

I find but two Dates in your Account. There are but two Articles of Credit Vizt: £190.5.2. and £146. Now, as I find you charge all ye Money you lose at Cards you ought to credit what you win; for I cannot suppose you so unfortunate as not to win sometimes. You ought, therefore, to . . . [Effaced.] . . . ye Balance . . . [Effaced.] . . . Article either to your Debit or Credit of . . . [Effaced.] . . . subject and by . . . [Effaced.]

. . . money or play . . . [Effaced.] . . . you will at any time see ye profit or loss in that Article. 3dly. You are not particular enough in your charges—for Example: "To hire of a horse for my Servant." It ought to have been expressed: "To so many days horse hire," or "To horse hire" from such a place to such a place. I should think it best, when you intend a Tour of a month or more, to buy horses for yourself and Servant and to sell them at your return, at a loss if you cannot do better.

I have not sold my large Tract at Monocasy; Mr. McNamara might have heard that I was offered £12500, and from thence conclude I sold it. I have again wrote about your Pipe of Wine. When you make your Tour to Holland, I doubt not you will take ye Precaution to procure some Letters to persons of Credit; this is a Step you should take even in your lesser Tours; your Business is to see men as well as things; and ye knowledge of things is best acquired from men of figure and Experience. When you are in Holland, you will not be far from Antwerp and Brussels—they are worth seeing.

I hope you will keep ye Resolution, mentioned in your Postscript, of writing oftener, for as all your Letters give me joy and put me in Spirits, so your Silence makes me very anxious and uneasy.

If I should have any Pears worth sending, you shall have them by Hanson. If a convenient opportunity should then happen I will send you some Hams; it is flinging them away to send them in ye summer. It is not worth while to desire Mr. Borolini to alter ye direction of his Letters; I have no Secrets which I would conceal from you. Captain Carroll and Mr. Lawson,

desire their Compliments to you; if you had no other Objection to an Acquaintance with Mr. Bladen than that of his being a Gamester, why do you say in yours of ye 10th of April 1760, that that is not ye only Reason for declining his Acquaintance? you must have wrote these last words without any meaning, or you mean something which you do not care to communicate. Pray no Reserve with me. You ought in playing—to limit yourself to a Stake ye loss of which will not give you any uneasiness, for it's carrying Complaisance too far to sacrifice your Money and resolutions to ye inclinations of others. Let your Esteem be never so great for any particular person, drop your Acquaintance with him rather than Associate for his Sake with Company you do not like. I am pleased to see you judge so rightly on this head, for an ill-judged Complaisance and easiness of temper in this point has laid ye foundation of many hopeful Young Mens' Loss of Health, fortune and Honour.

Your mention of your Mama to me and your Letter to her softened me; time will give us more fortitude: Let her have our daily prayers, tho' I firmly hope she wants them not; deviate not from ye Paths of Virtue and Honour that we may meet her in Heaven. If there were a Blessing beyond that, I would wish it to you: I am, My Dear Charley,

Your Most Affectionate Father

CHARLES CARROLL.

P.S. Rachel Darnall presents her Compliments and Love to you.[3]

In spite of the manifest stringency of his principles

[3] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

on all occasions, Charles Carroll was not a holder of Puritanic views, but joined in the rage of the day for the pastime of the card table. But a sharp line was drawn between the light stake pledged for amusement and the heavier play of the regular gamester. And Charles Carroll is found declining the intimacy of a certain Mr. Bladen for the reason that Bladen "was a gamester."

Letter XVI.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

April 8th. 1762.

Dear Charley,

I desire you will get your Picture drawn by ye best hand in London; let it be a three quarter's length; let it be put in a genteel gilt frame and sent me by ye next fleet carefully cased and packed.

You did prudently in not abruptly communicating my letter to Mr. Calvert, but should that subject at any time be again started in Conversation, it may not be improper perhaps to let him know what I say.

Your colt "Nimble" will, I think, make a fine horse; he is three years old this Grass, and is 14 hands 2 inches, and ½ high; I expect he will rise to at least fifteen hands.

I never meant that you should act as a Counsellor, even provided you could by any means consistent with Honour and Conscience be called to ye Bar: if ye Title of Barrister could be so obtained, it might not be improper to get it. I am pleased with your Sentiments and shall be ever far from advising you to any step which may expose your Honour or Sincerity to Censure.

A Gamester is certainly not an eligible Companion but an Acquaintance without an intimacy may, I think, be kept up with such a one without running into ye dangers you seem to apprehend, and which I would have you by all means avoid. I have formerly explained my motives for your being at least polite to him.

I see how severely ye Jesuits have been handled by ye Parliament of Paris; particular Members of that Society may be indiscreet, they may be wicked—Judas was numbered among ye 12. But is it not inconsistent with ye Rules of Justice . . . [Original writing effaced.] . . . this, if ye Body should not be liable to ye Contracts of Individuals in a [business?] transaction, because it is ye Body that is trusted, as Individuals are known to have no property. But ye Parliament seems to me to have exceeded ye Bounds of their Jurisdiction in censuring ye opinions of their Authors, which I should think only fall properly under ye Cognizance of an Ecclesiastical Tribunal: moreover, what may not any Author be made to say if particular propositions or sentences be extracted from his Writings without paying a just regard to ye whole Tenor of his Doctrine? Is it not by such means that every Sect of Christians adapt ye Scriptures to their opinions? And are not those Sacred Oracles made to countenance ye most impious and blasphemous Doctrines? It is true their Constitutions and ye Bulls and Privileges granted them and ye Doctrine of their Obedience may contain things not to be supported and therefore not dangerous; for whatever a man may grant, whatever Rules he may lay down, whatever Doctrines he may profess, if they be inconsistent with reason and contrary to Morality, Justice, and

Religion they are, in themselves, void and can have no ill Effect, and this has been ye case in all ye instances mentioned; for has any Evil resulted from ye Bulls, their Constitutions or Doctrine? My meaning may be explained in some measure by ye following instance which I acknowledge not to be quite apposite as the point is still controverted. Upon ye Restoration every Church in England sounded with ye Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance which was much more effectually refuted by practice than supported by Argument. The Popes' extravagant privileges to ye Society amount to no more than an Expression of their sense of their great merit; they were not so ignorant as not to know ye power of their Successors would be equal to their own. The implicit Obedience professed by ye Jesuits cannot be meant by common Sense and Justice to extend beyond things innocent, indifferent and just. Have they murdered, burnt or destroyed in virtue of their Obedience? I say it as my Sentiment, their eminent Merit and Virtue has provoked this persecution. The figure they make in ye Church, in their Schools, ye notice taken of them by ye several Roman Catholic Courts in Europe excites ye envy of even ye other Religious orders, who perhaps with complacency see them distressed not considering *Proximus ardet.*

I have, I thank God, been bred among them, and if you do what they have taught you and nothing contrary to it, you will be happy here and hereafter. Can there be a stronger instance of ye King of France's weakness than to suffer ye Parliament to carry their insolence and wickedness to such unwarrantable lengths? But *Delirant Reges plectuntur Achivi.*

I find we have a Spanish War, and that Mr. Pitt is not reinstated: however successful ye Nation has been under his Administration, it's certain he must fall into Contempt with all honest men. Who more averse to Continental Connexions? Who with a more lavish hand has squandered ye national Treasure on ye Continent? A truly virtuous man cannot be guilty of such inconsistencies. If Government cannot be carried on without corruption, there is an end of ye Constitution; ye keeping up of forms may deceive ye multitude. Virtue has abandoned us and liberty is gone with it. I see ye Parliament raised last year nigh twenty millions; what must Supplies of this year amount to? Will not Holland follow ye example of Spain?

I have never seen an [authentic?] story of Ireland of any value; let me have that published or publishing at Paris. My Lord Castlemain's Catholic Apology—though in a very uncouth State, and Ireland's Case stated—may, in point of History and truth, be useful to you and worth your perusal.

You have no doubt heard that we have conquered Martinico. Who shall prescribe limits to our Conquests by Sea if we only mind ye Interest of England. But are we able to bear ye growing Expense? A Kingdom may be Bankrupt. Mr. Croxall desired that whenever I wrote to you, I would present his Service and Compliments to you; your Cousin Darnall gives her love to you, I give you my blessing, and daily pray for your health and welfare; no Parent can wish both to a Child more sincerely than

Your Most Affectionate Father

CHARLES CARROLL.[4]

[4] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

Letter XVII.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

April 16th. 1762.

Dear Charley,

This is in answer to yours of December 16th, 1760, but as our provincial Court is sitting and as I am hindered by Company and Business, I must be short. All sorts of Company must be kept occasionally, however insipid and disagreeable, a knowledge of mankind is not otherwise to be attained. I hope you have long since received ye case of Wine I ordered you. I have often given you reasons to shew Maryland to be no desirable residence for a Roman Catholic; and, as you have often shewn it to be as much so as most others, you are quite at liberty to fix where you please. If a country life should be your taste—you may be happy here with your Books and ye amusements which Farming etc, affords . . . . . a man can hardly be too reserved, but a prudent reserve should be always hid by a well dissembled shew of Candor, affability, Openness, and unreserve—would you not wish that all men would act with candor, affability, openness and unreserve towards you? How can you expect it, if you do not endeavour to appear to behave so to all men? To suit yourself to the world, in non-essentials you must give up your Opinion, sacrifice your time, ease and inclinations; this is a sure way to be loved, esteemed and served. I mention your Reserve, because I find you are so—even to me, to whom nothing that you know should be a secret. I do not mention this without a good foundation; to what else can I im-

pute your not answering particularly my letters of July 14th and October 13th, 1760—to ye last without assigning any reason for your silence. Is it enough to say you wish ye Gentlemen I recommend to you Success, and that you can only wish and hope? Ought you not to have informed me, why you could not do more? I have so good an opinion of your Judgment and discretion as to believe you can well account for what you say or do, or do not do: But then I think you should give me as circumstantial an account as possible of what I desire to know and what I recommend to you. Since ye sailing of ye Fleet I have only the London Evening Posts from September 23d to November 25th, those from April to September are missing. The pamphlet you sent me, Vizt: "Considerations of ye German War" gave me and many others much pleasure. Do not your Politicians furnish annually above one pamphlet worth reading? I love you entirely and my present lonesome condition, added to that love, might, if anything could, incline me to call you home; but no Consideration, altho there are many pressing ones, can influence me to call you from ye study of ye Law. Hence judge how necessary I think ye knowledge of it is to you, and let me not suffer so cruel an Absence without answering ye end for which alone I submit to it. Mrs. Darnall, your mother's niece, is with me; and keeps my house and presents her Love and Service to you. God bestow his choicest Blessings and Graces on you, Those are ye . . . [Original effaced.] . . . wishes and prayers of, Dear Charley,

. . . Affectionate Father

. . . Carroll

P.S. This will be delivered to you by Captain Carroll: I am persuaded it will give you a sensible Satisfaction to see him, as he can say much to you relating to my Affairs and Health which, God be praised, I enjoy, as well as most People of my Age; being now in my 60th year. I shall therefore in this only write to you about ye Inclosed Cases, which I have sent you not only for your information, but that you may by them see how essential it will be to you to know ye Law well. Your Estate for this part of ye World will be a Considerable one and of Course liable to many disputes, especially as a Roman Catholic stands but a poor Chance for Justice, with our Juries in particular.[5]

In colonial days it was not unusual to import from England servants to attend to work needing a knowledge and judgment impossible of obtainment from negro slaves, who were, for the most part, unable to read or write. And sending abroad for master workmen, gamekeepers, etc., was unattended by any other expense than that of the passage from the mother country to the Colonies.

Letter XVIII.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Sept. 2nd. 1762.

I know not whether it will be worth your while to look out for any Mares; if you should be tempted to get one or two, they ought to be shipped in May or June, in a ship, lightly loaded; ye freight would be easy; ye expense of Water Casks, Hay, Oates, slings, etc, may

[5] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

be computed; a common Ostler or Groom should be provided to take care of them on ye passage; such a one may be induced to serve four or five years; ye Mares should never be put into ye Slings but upon very bad weather, they ought to stand in ye Hole upon fine shingle ballast and have room enough to lie down; other necessary considerations relative to them may occur to you. But supposing every difficulty of procuring them etc, removed, do not trouble yourself and do as you will, but should you send them procure their pedigrees properly attested.

I desired Mr. Perkins to send me two guns to be bought of Purvey, he sent me two ungenteel ones bought of one Stanton. Pray let me know if Purvey, ye Gunsmith, be living; nothing but his death can excuse Mr. Perkins for not complying with my orders.

I recommended it to you on your going into ye Temple to make a Commonplace Book; you assigned reasons for not doing it then, but I suppose you have one now, as your reasons you assigned no longer subsist. As you will have little more than a year to stay in ye Temple, after ye Receipt of this you may possibly think it too late to make use of such a one; of this you are now ye best judge; but I suppose your not getting one at first was owing to a too great delicacy you have in making an Acquaintance with men whose temper or something else, might prove disagreeable to you; but in that case are not such men easily shaken off?

You have informed me that in pursuance of my advice you intended to learn Surveying; you have not yet acquainted me that you have begun to do so. I again recommend it to you as a thing very essential to you.

When you come in, do not forget to look out in time for a good Stock of Bristol Water; you will find it ye most necessary and agreeable part of your Sea Stores, as ye Ships' water is hardly drinkable, at least very disgusting: two gross will be as little as you ought to have, and if you should have fellow passengers put them in mind to store themselves. If they neglect it, they will have less reason to expect you should share yours with them. Let it be shipped to you in time from Bristol, and as ye bottles makes almost ye whole Cost, desire your Servant to be careful of them and pack them away as they are emptied, for they will be very usefull here. Several Gentlemen in England have Gamekeepers who supply their Tables with *Gibier;* I suppose ye Wages of such a one would not exceed ye Wages of a Footman; if you can get such a one who can shoot well, flying, he may be placed at Elkridge whence he may supply us with Grouse, Pheasants, and Woodcocks. Some of your acquaintance in ye Country may recommend such a Servant to you and he should be Indented to serve five years for his stipulated wages; but you ought to be well informed if he is a good Marksman. I understand you dress plainly; I commend you for it, but I think you should have Clothes suitable to occasions, and upon your first appearance among us some show may not be improper. You may contrive to be supplied with Waist-coats of Silk for genteel Summer-Suits, Velvets etc. from France at ye best hand and in ye newest Taste; after your first appearance you may be as plain as you please. I would have you also bring with you a genteel set of Horse furniture, you need not buy Pistols as I have a very neat pair mounted with Silver

which are at your Service. I mention these things now as they now occur to me; I might forget them, at a time when it might be more proper to put you in mind of them. You may make this letter suit your time by keeping it and then consulting it. Poor Mrs. Manjan, a French Neutral, has not heard from her Daughter, and Son in Law, Mr. Boisson, since my return from Paris; should I inclose a letter from her to them, or one of them, forward it and at ye Bottom of it, give your Address to Boisson, telling him you will forward any letters to them. I intend, if a peace happens before you leave London, to send you the family pictures I have in order to have ye likeness taken by ye best hand in London, and to have them new dressed. Mr. Thomas Buchanan returns with this Fleet, he has behaved here with a good deal of prudence and discretion. God grant you health and every blessing which may not be prejudicial to your Eternal Welfare, it is my daily Prayer.

I am,

Dear Charley,

Your Affectionate Father

CHARLES CARROLL.

P.S. Cousin John Darnall and Mr. Richard Croxall present their compliments.[6]

[6] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

CHAPTER V.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON IN ENGLAND (1762–64).

Letter XIX.

CHARLES CARROLL OF DOUGHOREGAN TO CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

Dec. 29th. 1762.

Dear Charley,

Troubles and difficulties are as certain Concomitants of a large share of property as Envy of Merit. Poverty will not screen you from trouble and perplexity, tho' the want of merit may free you from Envy. If Mr. Dulany for his own sake will not consider ye case as far as it relates to Mercer, I should be sorry you gave yourself any trouble about it; you may have observed by my letter to him which accompany'd ye Case that it was upon that footing I wrote to him. I do not think it difficult to know the Characters and persons of Ministers of State; they frequent particular Coffee houses and other publick places, they resort to each House of Parliament; they are frequently ye Subject of conversation. Should you for example be asked, on your return, what sort of man is Mr. Pitt, who were his seconds and chief supporters in ye Administration and in each House of Par-

liament, and you should say "I never saw him and knew nothing of the matter," after a stay of four years in London, might you not be looked upon as incurious? as if you could not give an Account of Westminster Bridge or St. Paul's and ye places they stand in? We live in ye world, and ought to know it; that knowledge gives us weight in it, and makes us agreeable in Company and Conversation; some time ought to be sacrificed to that end. I am glad to hear you have begun to learn the Italian method of Book-keeping; it is a qualification not unbecoming ye greatest Peer in England. Be perfect in Arithmetick and learn Surveying; believe me they are all essential to you, which makes me so often mention them. Dear Charley, I am convinced you would be sincerely concerned for my Death, I know in that case you would sustain a great loss, but not nigh so great as you present it to yourself. Mr. Croxall, time and application would soon let you into a thorough knowledge of my affairs and your Interest. Instead of dreading my death, thank God that I have lived until you have attained an Age and Knowledge to act for yourself. You see things in so partial a light, you have it so much at heart to return, that your reasoning is unbecoming your good sense. I have always told you I never intended you should practise ye Law; will, therefore, ye knowledge of it be unprofitable to you? would it not be of infinite advantage to England if every man of property who serves in Parliament were a sound Lawyer and well acquainted with the Constitution? Will not ye knowledge of ye Law enable you to transact your affairs with ease and Security? Will it not enable you to state your own Cases, to instruct those you employ; and, if

you find them ignorant, knavish or conceited, direct you to employ others? It is true, I have met with some of these Characters, but had I been a Lawyer, or deemed such, it's more than probable they would not have ventured to have imposed on me. Although other occupations here will hinder you from such an application to ye Law as to give you a knowledge of it, yet, certainly, after four years' study and close application to it in London, some spare hours here may conduce to improve your knowledge; your Path will be beaten and easy, and you will certainly know how to turn to proper Books and Cases upon occasion, or your time and money must be wasted to no purpose. I endeavour to convince, I would always avoid ye hardness of a command, and I hope you will be persuaded that your wellfare, Interest and happiness only induce me against my natural fondness and propensity to see you and have you with me, not to alter my Resolution in this Respect. I have paid your Compliments as desired. As far as I can judge, this year will add new and important Conquests to England and Laurels to her Admirals and Generals. I name our Admirals first because every success is evidently owing to our unbounded power at Sea. What have ye French to hope for from ye Hero of Rosback, for by papers of a later date than your letter I see Frederick has refused ye Command. The Empress Queen, I apprehend, deserted by Russia, will be reduced to act on ye defensive. I suppose Spain would not have quarrelled with us, had she not resolved to attempt again to annex Portugal to her Dominion; at so great a distance I cannot see what can hinder her Success but ye want of good Officers and a prudent Conduct, but she may pay

ye full purchase by ye loss of Cuba, Hispaniola, etc. We expect ye Fleet daily; I am not impatient for any thing but your Letters and to see Captain Carroll from whom I expect a more circumstantial Account of you than they will give me. You are allways in my thoughts, you are ye object of all my cares, and I am, dear Charley,

Your Affectionate Father

CHARLES CARROLL.[1]

LETTER XX.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Sept. 3rd. 1763.

Dear Charley,

I acquainted you I had received yours of June 14th. The reasons you assign in your last for not going to Berlin are such as I approve. It seems to me ye King of France is not sincerely a friend to ye Jesuits; considering how small ye Majority in ye several Parliaments was against them, could not he, if in earnest, have commanded a great Majority in their favour? It is natural to suppose Pompadour not to be their friend, and ye surprising influence she has, I doubt not has been exerted against them; in short it is no wonder a King of France, who gives up his Authority by suffering ye Executive part of Government to be exercised by such Parliaments, should connive at their unjust and unprecedented proceedings against ye Jesuits. Lewis ye 14th or any King of Spirit would have chastized their villany and insolence. By ye Genealogy of ye Family sent you

[1] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

by Kitty I doubt not Mr. Whitten may be enabled to make out our Genealogy to ye present time, and if it can be done with certainty I shall not begrudge ye Expence. I believe all sensible disinterested men look on Wilkes as a bold wrongheaded man, and a fit Tool to those who patronise him. I see by ye Papers ye Printers have recovered Damages against ye Messengers; things seem to be tending hastily to Anarchy in England; Corruption and freedom cannot long subsist together. That ye first has long and universally prevailed we here must give for granted, since every Party when out has acknowledged and asserted it; for my part I think an absolute Government preferable to one that is only apparently free; and this must be ye case of your present constitution, if it be true that whoever presides in ye Treasury can command in Parliament. My hand mends: I have wrote ye rough Draft of this without much difficulty; it was on ye 30th of July I sprained my wrist, as I wrote you. I am making an Addition to my house at Elk-ridge. I want to stucco it, but we have not here a workman who can do it; I wish you could procure such a one, I would be content he should only serve two years for ye charges of his passage etc., but let him procure a Certificate from some Master Builder or undertaker that he is a good workman. If he cannot be got on other terms I would pay his passage if he would work for me on reasonable Terms, and you may assure him he would not want good business here.

It is probable before this reaches you, you will see Mr. Charles Digges a particular favorite of mine, a young Gentleman of great Merit and esteemed here by every man of sense who has ye pleasure to know him; I

therefore hope you will shew him all ye Civilities in your power. I suppose at ye writing of this you are on your return to London, and that you will immediately write to me, which I may probably receive in ye beginning of December. Wishing and daily praying for your health and happiness I am,

dear Charley

Your Affectionate Father

CHARLES CARROLL.[2]

LETTER XXI.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

London, 1763.

I have at last received your two long wished for letters: *Via Virginiae* came to hand ye 22 and ye last by ye New York Packet ye 9th Instant. These letters Mr. Perkins might have sent, as I wrote you, sooner, viz by ye Packets which sailed in July and August and then they would have come to hand in September and October.

. . . . . .

You give me ye greatest pleasure by acquainting me you are well, you cannot be thinner than I was at your age: I was also subject to little lurking fevers, such a habit obliged me to be very temperate in my Youth and that temperance hath brought me to 60 . . . [Original effaced.] . . .

I acquiesce to your Resolution of not entering yourself of ye Temple. Why should not a Gentleman's affairs and books be kept in as clear a manner as a Merchant's? Money affairs must be kept so and you

[2] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

will not have a very small share of that to keep so. I did not purchase O'Connor's "Translation of Keating" of Mr. Lewis. I again desire, for your own sake, that you will, by Cousin Anthony, or by any other means, trace our family up to 1500. Cousin Carroll is right about ye Country of ye O'Carrolls; it was by ye Latin Authors called Elia Carolina, commonly Ely O Carroll. Your Grandfather gave that name to one of ye Seats of Land he took up here. All your News is Stale by ye long laying and Passage of your letters. I have thought of an Expedient to make you a more regular and punctual Correspondent; it is, not to write to you but when I receive letters from you and I think it a good one.

Your old acquaintance Mr. Lawson is within a few days going to commit Matrimony. I have presented your Compliments to all those you mentioned and you may be assured they would send you theirs if they knew of my writing. Rachel Darnall desires to be affectionately remembered to you. Wishing and daily praying for your health and happiness I am

Your Affectionate Father

CHARLES CARROLL.

P. S.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

among them was One Uloa who has published some account or Memoirs of America: I should be glad to have them. I have seen a "Vindication of ye Jesuits" said to be published at Rennes, entitled *Memoire Concernant* etc., it is very plain and not at all laboured, but very full and convincing.[3]

[3] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

During seasons of holiday-making, Charles Carroll had met with Louisa Baker, a daughter of Joseph Baker, Esquire; the owner of a handsome property in Reigate. Charles Carroll fell deeply in love with the English beauty of sixteen, and dreamed of leading her from the altar of Hymen to his Maryland Manor, the mistress elect of his Colonial home. The elder Carroll raised no obstacle to the projected marriage, and reminded his son to obtain the consent of the young woman's father. He declared his intention of settling on Charles Carroll the magnificent estate of Carrollton, comprising an area of ten thousand acres—" Wishing," he added, " to obviate as much as it is in my power, every objection, and to hasten ye match and your return to me." To a letter evidently written to Mr. Baker by young Carroll formally proposing for the hand of his daughter, that gentleman returned the following courteous and not altogether unfavorable reply:

Letter XXII.

JOSEPH BAKER, ESQ., TO CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

Bath, Thursday the 15th. December, 1763.

Dear Sir,

It was not till late last night, at my return from Bristol to this place that I was honoured with yours of the 8th instant, which was sent me from my House near Southampton: else good manners would not have suffered you to wait so long for an answer to it.

It is true, Sir, I have not the pleasure of personally

knowing you, though I am far from being altogether a stranger to the name of your Family: but it is impossible for me to give a precise answer to your proposal: though such satisfaction as I can give you, I will.

As to what you suggest of my having, perhaps, already pitched upon some other Gentleman for my Daughter, believe me, Sir, it is a matter I had not yet begun to think of, and, perhaps, but for so unexpected an incident as the present, should not, for a long time to come, have at all thought about it, she being now but in her seventeenth year; which, upon the whole, I think rather too early to engage in the marriage-state, so that on this particular head I can give you, I believe, all the satisfaction you desire: neither her mother nor myself having ever turned our thoughts on any particular Gentleman or indeed considered the matter as yet calling for our attention: and I have great reason to believe her own affections to be as utterly disengaged as they were ten years ago.

As to your Fortune, Sir, I have some reason to suppose it such as I could have no objection to: and, indeed, to be far more considerable than my Daughter might be (what the world calls) entitled to: so that should every other circumstance be agreeable to both Parties, the objection on that article is more likely, as I take it, to proceed from your part than from mine: and even if the great liking you seem to have conceived for her, should be powerful enough to induce yourself to dispense with what another would insist on, what certainty is there that your Father would so easily be brought to dispense with it too? Your Father, Sir, who is at so considerable a distance, and, yet, without

whose approbation, I dare say, neither would you, yourself, nor, on any the most advantageous terms would I, chuse to have effected what you seem so desirous of.

Thus, you see Sir, (which is all that yet can be) I am not as yet sensible of any objections I should have to your proposal: what may hereafter arise from a further enquiry into each others' situation and character, or from a personal conference, or from her liking or not liking you, or your, from a farther knowledge and acquaintance, not continuing to like her, it is impossible now to say. All I can assure you is, that I should not affect to raise any: and will even ingenuously own to you that I seem to observe in your manner of writing certain marks of candour and worth that rather incline me to wish I might not find any: nor can I be wholly without sentiments of gratitude for one who appears to have entertained so sincere and disinterested a regard for a Daughter who from her infancy has been so exceeding dear to me.

I shall stay at this place long enough for a letter to find me—not sent from London later than Monday night next, and directed to me at Dr. Canvane's at Bath: about the end of next week I shall be at my own house and, if I find you continue desirous of it, shall then do myself the pleasure, or perhaps before I go hence, to let you know where I think it were most convenient to have a personal interview.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

JOSEPH BAKER.

It just occurs to me, from something I remember to have heard of the particular province to which a Gentle-

man of my sir-name is appointed, that he must have some connexions with you. I have no personal acquaintance with that Gentleman; but have the pleasure of being well acquainted with Mr. Carpenter of Twickenham, with whom my namesake is much so.[4]

Letter XXIII.

CHARLES CARROLL OF DOUGHOREGAN TO HIS SON.

Fbruary 12th, 1764.

Dear Charley,

As I have said, upon your Return to Maryland I will give you my Manor of Carrollton and ye Addition thereto and my Share of ye Works, I will also settle on you my Manor of Doughoregan and Chance and ye Slaves thereon on my Death. As you are my only Child you will, of Course, have all ye Residue of my Estate on my Death.

In short, to obviate as much as it is in my power every objection and to hasten ye match and your return to me —which I hope may be in ye next fall,—if anything more should be required, which you and those you may consult may think reasonable to be done, I leave you at liberty to engage to do it; and I think Mr. Baker may confide in any engagement you will enter into, as my whole Estate will fall to you at my Death.

I am well, but your complaints give me pain; I hope they, in a great measure, proceed from ye Anxiety your passion for Miss Baker gives you. I wish you a happy issue to it, that your health may be perfect and that God

[4] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

will bless you in everything which may contribute to your temporal and eternal wellfare. I am

Your Affectionate Father

CHARLES CARROLL.

LETTER XXIV.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

March 27th. 1764.

. . . . . .

"Should Mr. Baker's objection be against his Daughter's leaving him, if he be a good natured sensible Man, he may come with his Daughter and retire with me to Elk Ridge where we may pass ye Remainder of our lives in an easy Retirement, becoming and, I think, agreeable to old Men. In that case I shall surrender to you my House in Annapolis, being desirous on my Part to Remove every Difficulty or Objection that may have ye Appearance of Reason, to promote your Happiness. I write but little because you may at this time be preparing for your Voyage to Maryland, in that case I pray to God to grant you a safe and pleasant one."

After some further correspondence, the subject of a marriage with Miss Baker was allowed to drop, and Charles Carroll prepared to return to Maryland, a bachelor of twenty-seven. Nearly twenty years had passed since Charles Carroll was sent abroad, and in the intervening decades events of importance had happened in the Colonies. The French-Canadian war had come to an end some years before, and now were already

heard the murmurs of the rising trouble between Great Britain and her Colonies. Charles Carroll was to return at a critical moment, when the foreshadowing of great changes was apparent, and restlessness and disquiet were prevailing from " the Cape of Florida to the Land of Labrador."

CHAPTER VI.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON AT HOME—FOREBODINGS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION (1765).

THE studies of Charles Carroll came to a close in the autumn of 1765, and the same year he returned to Maryland, arriving at his father's house in the month of February.[1] The estate of Carrollton was now settled upon young Carroll, and in future he was to be known as Charles Carroll of Carrollton, to distinguish him from his father, Charles Carroll of Doughoregan. Under date of November, 1765, he signed himself to Edmund Jennings "your friend Charles Carroll of Carrollton," "by which appellation," he continues, "if you favour me with an answer, direct to me your letter." Nothing on his return to Maryland was further from the intentions of young Carroll than to mingle in the local politics of his native land. "I am resolved," he wrote, "never to give myself ye least concern about politicks, but to follow ye sensible advice given by Candid to improve my own estate to ye utmost, and to remain content with ye profits a grateful soil and laborious industry will supply." He later adds:

"Swift, I think, says somewhere, that a man who by his superior industry and application makes an acre of

[1] Maryland Gazette of 1765.

ground produce two for one in ye customary method of cultivation, is of more real utility to his Country, than all ye politicians that ever existed or will exist in it."

But, slowly, Charles Carroll found himself drawn into the vortex of approaching troubles. "A cloud not bigger than a man's hand" had appeared on the horizon, and through the length and breadth of the Colonies were already audible murmurs of resistance and discontent. The Stamp Act was decreed by Royal assent, and the Americans were, morally at least, already up in arms. To his friend in London, Henry Graves, a Master in Chancery, Charles Carroll wrote the following letter depicting the turbulent state of Colonial affairs:

Letter XXV.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MR. HENRY GRAVES.

15 Septr. 1765.

Dear Graves

I have at last had ye satisfaction of receiving a letter from you when I had almost begun to think you would verify ye old Proverb out of sight out of mind. I agree with you, to hoard up wealth by saving is a paltry means of growing richer; and, yet, without fear of falling under this censure, I do not intend, as you advise, to spend my annual income: I assure you I would not accept my Father's estate upon condition of consuming the annual profits, I should be loth to make this precedent myself: the gentlemen of this Province were never fond of expense and less now than ever; in these times of necessity and oppression it is a duty every man of fortune owes his country to set an example of frugality and in-

dustry to ye common people: "Necessity," says ye proverb, "is ye mother of invention," I may add, of industry too: ye mistaken policy of England, as I observed before, will force us to be industrious: our inability, while loaded with oppressive taxes to purchase your manufactures, will oblige us to manufacture for ourselves: the worst of evils this, that can possibly befall England, the loss of liberty excepted: that indeed seems already lost, or near expiring. Must we not think so, when ye guardians of the subjects' rights are the first to infringe them? That they have been infringed by ye late acts and, more particularly, by ye Stamp Act is the general opinion of these colonies: not all ye eloquence of Mansfield can persuade us that Englishmen by leaving their country to settle in these parts, thereby lose the privileges of Englishmen and the benefit of ye Common Law. By that Law, ye most favourable to liberty, we claim the invaluable privilege, that distinguishing Characteristick of ye English constitution, of being taxed by our own representatives; to say (and this has been said and insisted on too) that we are virtually represented is only adding to ye oppression ye cruel mockery of our understandings. The Method you propose of ye Parliaments fixing the sum to be raised, and leaving to ye different governments the ascertaining of and the ways and means of levying their respective proportions, will never be embraced by ye Colonies unless they are constituted Judges of ye necessity or even of ye expediency of such levies. Whatever threats are thrown out or force employed to make ye Americans as compliant as ye Parliament, they will never depart from the essential right of internal

taxation without which our property would be at ye mercy of every rapacious minister. England restrains our trade, she appoints our Governors, lays duties on our exports and imports; and ye exertion of this power or right, as a necessary consequence of our dependence on ye mother country, has all along been admitted and acquiesced in by ye colonies. It was in this sense I admitted ye propriety of her taxing us; that is of disallowing drawbacks and imposing duties on our imports and exports from Great Britain and Ireland—nothing more was attempted while I was in England or I believe thought of at that time. The preamble of ye Stamp Act is as alarming as ye Act itself; the sole reason given for passing it is because such and such duties had been granted to his Majesty ye preceeding Sessions; thus they may go on *ad infinitum:* allowing this unbounded power in a set of men at so great a distance, so little acquainted with our circumstances, and not immediately affected with ye taxes laid upon us, what security remains for our property? what fence against arbitrary enactions? are we to trust to ye moderation of a British Parliament? have we reason to rely solely on that? Men who have been so profuse and lavish of their constituents' money—will they be sparing of ours and better managers for strangers? The Stamp Act has taken away in part ye trial by Juries: has curtailed ye liberty of ye Press: petitions, altho' the subject has an undoubted right to petition, were rejected with scorn on ye frivolous pretence—no petitions would be *read* when ye house had once gone upon a money Bill—do not these proceedings carry with them the strongest marks of despotism? You, I know, from your love of liberty,

detest them as much as we do. The Stamp master at Boston has been obliged to throw up his office: ours, I imagine, will follow his example or may repent it. The house building at Boston for ye stamps, and the house in this place hired for ye same use, have been levelled with ye ground: this spirit of opposition to Stamps, and stamp men, and stamp laws is diffused thro' out ye colonies from ye "Cape of Florida to ye land of Labrador."

I am much obliged to you for the Pamphlets. I am more interested than you imagine in your political parties and disputes, at least I am very desirous of knowing what is going on in your Capital of ye English Empire. I therefore beg you will continue to send me the most interesting Pamphlets: as I shall take ye liberty to trouble you every now and then for books—pray set down ye prices of them and of the Pamphlets, and send ye account by your Servant to Messrs. Perkins, B: and Browne in Dolphin Court, Tower Street, and it will be immediately discharged. In my last I informed you I should, if in my power, employ Mr. Taylor: my Father never ships any Tobacco, he finds it much more to his advantage to sell it here: I mention this because our factor's chief profit is on the sale of ye Tobacco. Our factors are closely combined: tho' hating and hated by each other they confederate to oppress us; conscious of their iniquity they will be desirous of concealing it or at least willing and united to oppose anyone who attempts to detect or put a stop to their illicit practices.

Your jaunt to Switzerland I make no doubt has afforded you much pleasure, particularly as you travelled with such agreeable company. I should have been

tempted when so nigh Venice, to have made a visit to that city, but I suppose your time would not permit you to extend your excursions so far. Mr. Power is certainly an agreeable man; I am sorry on both your accounts that you are now deprived of his company and conversation, as I am sure the loss of yours is equally felt by him. Pray remember me to my worthy and good friend Mr. Crookshanks: it gives me pain to hear he has been so much out of order; but now he is out of ye reach of ye Parliament of Paris and at liberty to range about, I hope he will recover his health apace: I desire my compliments to ye gentlemen of my acquaintance at ye "Crown and Anchor"—I am, dear Graves,

Affectionately yours

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[2]

Two centuries of power and growing wealth had not disposed Americans to turn a submissive ear to despotic decrees and the behests of tyranny. Excitement grew apace from day to day. Resistance from seditious speech advanced to open action, and the public temper was made manifest when on the memorable night of 1765, Zachariah Hood attempted to land his "execrable paper" and met with a desperate and successful resistance from an angry and determined mob. Charles Carroll was already associated as a leader in the political measures adopted in the colony and commenting on the Stamp incident to Edmund Jennings, the son, it is remembered, of the Attorney-General, young Carroll wrote the following: "I had almost forgotten to mention that our Stamp man represented here that partly through your

[2] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

means and solicitations, he obtained his odious office. Indeed I never gave credit to ye report." And later, in an able pamphlet, with one stroke of the pen, Edmund Jennings refuted the false statements of Zachariah Hood, while expressing in an eloquent treatise his own sentiments of loyalty and patriotic zeal. Charles Carroll wrote his congratulations to his friend: "your conduct," he said, "has evinced your attachment to your native country which, as to myself, I never doubted of." A general convention of the Colonies was called to meet in New York, October, 1765, and representatives from Maryland were appointed to attend the "First Colonial Congress."

Letter XXVI.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MR. CHRISTOPHER BIRD.

28. Septbr. 1765.

Dear Xtopher,

Our Provincial Court and assembly are sitting: before you receive this, you will learn from ye papers that a committee of deputies from the different assemblies or Parliaments of the Colonies is to meet at New York ye first of October to draw up a petition against the Stamp act and to advise, consult and adopt such measures as they shall think most conducive to ye general good and prosperity of their country. Our assembly has appointed three to attend ye congress. £500 Cy. has been voted to defray their expences with proviso to receive more if necessary, and to account for ye surplus. Most of the Stamp Distributors have resigned their

offices; *id est*, have been obliged to throw up their dirty employments. Our Stamp Man from a vile instrument of oppression is become an object of pity and contempt: he has withdrawn himself from ye just resentment of his fellow citizens and forsook this, his native country which he dared not, tho' willing, to oppress. I should be more full and circumstantial but I doubt not ye London Kants will make you acquainted with ye minutest transactions: I can only say with Portia, " the dawn is overcast, ye morning lowers and heavily brings on ye day big with ye fate of—Liberty."

The sweets of matrimony are blended no doubt with ye bitters—nor is any state or condition of life exempt from its share of evil. . . . I am single, have a great fortune, enjoy my health tolerably well, my desires are far from being unbounded; and yet ye love of retirement grows upon me.

Remember me in the kindest manner to your Father and Aunt and to Mr. Fentham: assure Mr. Chapman of my esteem and present my compliments to all who have not yet forgot me and believe me to be

Dear Xtopher,

Your sincere friend

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

A mocking-bird, the nightingale of America, and almost unknown in England, was promised by Charles Carroll to friends abroad; at the same time he sent a present of wild turkeys, a luxury of his native land abounding, until a provincial disregard for game laws caused at length their total extinction.

Letter XXVII.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO ——.

5 Octbr. 1765.

This accompanies six Wild Turkeys for your Father and a flying squirrel for your Aunt Esther: I hope I shall be able to procure a Mocking Bird by next fall. The greatest confusion will ensue from the late impolitical and arbitrary Stamp Act: It is the general opinion no business will be done after ye first of November when that act is to take place: the people are so enraged, that they will, 'tis thought, proceed to the greatest lengths, even to ye burning of the stamps: should the stamps be burnt all law proceedings and indeed every other business will be at a stand; trade will suffer most and consequently ye Merchants who trade with America: in my opinion they deserve to suffer and to feel ye effects of an act which they ought to have petitioned against; nor is it any excuse or extenuation of their neglect to say their petition would have been ineffectual: their own interest, if not the interest of their employers, which I am sorry to say, seem to be two very distinct and separate interests, should have induced them to exert the same vigour, which they shewed on former occasion in opposition to a powerful minister and to an act not half so destructive of liberty as ye present and would have proved very beneficial to the provinces of Maryland and Virginia: Pray present my compliments to Mr. Joseph Perkins and to Mr. Eure. I am gentlemen

Your most obedient humble Servant

Charles Carroll of Carrollton.[3]

[3] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

CHAPTER VII.

FOREBODINGS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION (1765).

At this time Daniel Dulany, the leading barrister of Maryland, while by no means prepared to resort to arms, wrote one of the ablest pamphlets of the period on the impolicy of taxation, which was republished in England, and earned for the noted jurist the title of the "Pitt of Maryland."[1] To this pamphlet Charles Carroll made allusion in a letter to Mr. Bradshaw.

Letter XXVIII.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MR. BRADSHAW.

21. November 1765

Dear Bradshaw,

I therefore refer you to the newspapers and Pamphlets written on this subject for full information, for it would swell this letter to an extraordinary size, were I to enter upon a topic which now engrosses the fears, the thoughts and the conversation of all men on this continent: if you are any ways serious or desirous to enter into ye merits of a cause, the most important, interesting, and of ye utmost consequence to the British Empire, I must recommend to you a Pamphlet lately published in this province entitled "Ye Claim of ye colonies or an exemption of taxes all considered." It is wrote with that strength and solidity of argument as must con-

[1] O'Neill.

vince the understanding of the unprejudiced; and with that elegance and beauty of style as cannot fail pleasing good judges and men of taste.

The climate here is delightful—particularly ye Autumn: the weather is now as mild and serene as it generally is in England in August and September: many who have travelled through the colonies give ye preference to Maryland, both in point of climate, ye fertility of its soil, and ye sociability of its inhabitants. As the English Constitution seems hastening to its final period of dissolution, and the symptoms of a general decay are but too visible, I advise you to sell your estate in England, and to purchase lands in this province where liberty will maintain her empire, till a dissoluteness of morals, luxury and venality shall have prepared the degenerate sons of some future age, to prefer their own mean lucre, ye bribes, and the smiles of corruption and arbitrary ministers, to patriotism, to glory, and to ye publick weal—no doubt the same causes will produce the same effects and a period is already set to ye reign of American freedom; but that fatal time seems to be at a great distance—the present generation at least, and I hope many succeeding ones, in spite of a corrupt Parliament, will enjoy the blessings and ye sweets of liberty —but should you not care to follow my advice and become an inhabitant of this country that you may not survive ye loss of it in your own, is the wish of one who has ye prosperity of both at heart and desires to be ranked not only in ye number of ye friends of freedom but of yours.

CHARLES CARROLL.[2]

[2] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

At the Colonial Congress a petition was issued to the King and Parliament, in which were set forth in full the rights and grievances of the American colonists. Pending a reply from the Home Government, and evidently believing that in union there is strength, the colonists bound themselves to reject all further importation of "English goods."

Letter XXIX.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MR. JENNINGS.

23 Novr. 1765.

Dear Jennings,

I wish this letter may be as welcome as I think it will be unexpected: if it be welcome it will excuse its not coming sooner, and if unwelcome it comes too soon:—the first thing I suppose you will be desirous to know, is how I like the country: the climate is certainly upon ye whole much preferable to yours: the heats of ye summer are indeed dangerous and disagreeable to persons who are obliged to expose themselves to ye sun, but, a few days excepted, are very supportable to one in my situation who can confine himself to his house:

. . . . . .

We have political parties amongst us but they are too trivial and of too little consequence for me to relate or you to hear: I shall only observe they seem to me to spring from the same source in which your factions have theirs: the want of a sufficient number of lucrative offices to gratify the avarice or the ambition of the "Outs."

But, indeed, our political quarrels are now forgot or

lay dormant while ye dread of the Stamp Act continues, and the common danger outweighs private concerns. You are too well acquainted with ye English constitution and ye Interests of America not to see what a fatal blow both have received from that and other late injudicious and arbitrary Acts: I shall not therefore make any comment upon those measures: their dangerous tendency is obvious and the consequences too dreadful of submitting to a Parliamentary taxation. I will not presume to fix bounds and to circumscribe the power of Parliament: but certainly bounds must be fixed and *there are certain known fundamental laws essential to and interwoven with ye English constitution which even a Parliament itself cannot abrogate: such I take to be that allowed maxim of the constitution that invaluable privilege from birth of Englishmen of being taxed with their own consent: the definition of freedom is the being governed by laws to which we have given our consent, as the definition of slavery is the very reverse:* but I am perceptibly sliding into a subject which will lead me too far and which on that very account I would purposely avoid. If you have a mind to see the claim of the Colonies for an exemption of taxes laid by Authority of Parliament, fairly stated, fully discussed, and asserted with great solidity and strength of argument, I must refer you to a Pamphlet of Dulany's bearing much such a title; and of which many copies have been transmitted to London, and I make no doubt one to you by Mr. Brice.

The Merchants at New York and Philadelphia have come to a resolution not to send for any more goods of ye manufacture and growth of Great Britain, and to

contradict the orders already given, till a repeal of ye Stamp Act is obtained: this resolution will in my opinion avail us more than petitioning: for, as Mr. Dulany well observes, should the People of England be so deaf as not to hear and be moved with our complaints, or so blind as not to see the effects of this industry, they will not be so callous as not to feel them. . . . I had almost forgot to mention that our Stamp man reported here that, partly thro' your means and solicitation, he obtained his odious office; indeed I never gave credit to ye report, and thought he only made use of your name to palliate his crime: for surely a friend to liberty, an American born, would never solicit an office which would destroy the existence of the one and consequently the privileges of the other. Pray present my compliments to Mr. Gray whom I esteem as a man of merit and worth, tho' perhaps no fast friend to this country, as having a large share of property in ye Islands for whose interest acts have been passed diametrically opposite to ours. All your acquaintances here are well except Mr. Key: he seems to be in a dangerous way and I understand Doctor Hamilton has been sent for, which he seldom is but in cases of extremity and danger: I have nothing more material to add but to conclude with assuring you that I am

Dear Jennings,

Your friend CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON by which appellation, if you favour me with an answer, direct to me your letter.[3]

[3] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

LETTER XXX.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MR. BRADSHAW.

8th. Decbr. 1765.

Dear Bradshaw,

Captain Hawker is just arrived here with ye stamps: he is to winter at Annapolis and probably will keep them on board, as there is no person authorised (since the flight of our Stamp man) to receive his baneful cargo—or, if authorised, bold enough to touch it: all men will avoid the execrable paper as carefully as they would the most dangerous infection.

Mr. Buchanan is to be married this morning, and probably by this the ceremony is over:—as Mr. Browne is well acquainted with ye young lady I need not expatiate on her accomplishments: from the good temper and good sense of both their friends make no doubt of their being a happy couple.

Before this reaches you, you will probably have heard the resolution, the principal merchants and shopkeepers of New York and Philadelphia have lately entered into, viz. not to import goods from England and to contradict the orders already given, unless the goods should be bought and shiped before such fresh instructions are received, and this resolution they are determined to adhere to, until ye Stamp Act is repealed. I shall leave you to meditate on this resolution, and to draw from it what inferences you please;—the inferences I have drawn are these—the Americans are jealous of their privileges and resolved to maintain them: they are not yet corrupt enough to undervalue Liberty, they are

truely sensible of its blessings, and not only talk of them as they do somewhere else, but really wish their continuance—they think the most effectual method of obtaining redress against oppression is to make the oppressors feel it: the ready way to do this is to distress the merchants, shopkeepers, tradesmen and manufacturers of England—And I sincerely wish this reasoning may be just and these measures produce the desired effect, as I am convinced in my opinion, that the justice of our cause and our petitions unsupported by such vigorous and reasonable resolutions, would operate but slowly, if at all, our deliverance from the jaws of death; I mean of political death, which poverty and slavery, the companions of the Stamp Act, will infallibly bring on: how long we may linger under our disease will depend upon the constitutional strength of our body—but linger we must and perhaps so long that our emaciated carcass when drained of all its vital moisture, its marrow and its blood by harpies *id est* (that is) stamp men, excise men, ministerial men etc. etc. will perfectly resemble the description of Famine in Churchill.

Pray present my compliments to Mr. Eure and to Mr. John Perkins and to his son and Daughter. I am dear Bradshaw

Your most obedient
CHARLES CARROLL.[4]

In the autumn of this year, 1765, Lieutenant-Governor Colden of New York, rashly attempted at the cannon's mouth to force acceptance of the rejected

[4] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

stamps, whereon was enacted a second and more violent scene, the counterpart of the Hood episode in Maryland.

LETTER XXXI.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MR. DANIEL BARRINGTON.

22 Decbr. 1765.

Dear Daniel,

I wrote to you ye 5th of last September, and my father ye 6th November, both of which letters I hope you have received. The most remarkable occurrences which have since happened are as follows: Lieutenant Governor Colden of New York, suspecting violence would be used against stamps when landed and willing to screen those cursed instruments of oppression from their just fate took them into ye castle: he feared, or pretended to fear, the castle itself was not out of danger from an insult—the cannon was mounted and pointed against ye town: the behaviour of this insolent Governor, who, it seems, was a drummer in ye rebel army in ye year 15, and ye dread of ye Stamp act roused the spirit of ye people, which indeed did not want such provocation: they assembled and proceeded in an orderly manner to ye Governor's stables under ye very walls of his citadel took out his coach, erected a gibbet in full view, on which hung ye effigies of ye Governor with this inscription on ye back of it, "ye Rebel drummer." Under ye gibbet a bonfire was kindled and the gibbet, effigies, and coach consumed together: The Governor was forced, or thought it prudent, to sign a paper declaring he had no intention of acting as stamp

master, or of nominating any one to act in that capacity, having no authority to do ye same: not satisfied with this written declaration the people insisted on having ye stamps lodged in ye town house under ye care of ye corporation or shipped on board, Captain Kennedy, to be sent back to England: the Captain refusing to take them on board, they were delivered up to ye corporation upon their giving security for their safe custody. It is not probable that Colden would have complied with this last demand unless he had been convinced that upon a refusal the enraged multitude would have attacked ye fort; and considering ye numbers and resolution of ye assailants he, I dare say, thought they would carry it.

This behaviour of ye people of New York at the head quarters of General Gage, who to do him justice, has behaved with singular prudence and moderation, has inspired their North American Brethren with fresh courage and fixed them in their resolution of a steady opposition to ye Stamp act: to ye northward of us they proceed with business as if no such law was ever heard of. I believe the example will be followed by this Province: the Frederic county court has obliged their Clerk to issue writs as usual: Baltimore, it is said, will do ye same—and this conduct, in my apprehension, is but rational and a necessary consequence, if the people would act consequentially, of what they have already done: since a suspense from business implies a tacit acquaintance of the Law, or at least ye right or of ye power of imposing such Laws upon us: the right we deny upon ye soundest of reasoning, and the power we should oppose by all lawful means.

. . . . . .

I had almost forgot to mention that a considerable body of people from ye upper parts of this country came to town with a view to intimidate the council and force them into a compliance with ye lower house in rejecting Mr. Ross' claim: stories were industriously spread of threats and menaces against the best building viz Dr. Scot's house of this Province: however if any such design was ever intended, the people who were mostly men of some property were too sensible to carry it into execution: they deputed Messrs. Ridgeley and Dorsey with a petition to ye two Houses of Assembly which was presented by Mr. Jaques Carroll: the petition was to this effect: that Mr. Ross' claim might be put off to some future decision, that the journal should be passed and ye several claims against ye publick satisfied, and that the money which the country stood in ye greatest need of, might thereby be put in circulation. I do not know what answer, or if any, was returned to this petition, being at Doghoregan while this business was transacting and I have not been informed of ye matter since my coming to town.

I have so little communication with ye house where your daughter is at present, that I really am unable to inform you how she does, but I suppose well, as I have not heard to ye contrary: Mr. William Brent has been at death's door: he was speechless and given over: but as it is near a fortnight since I had this intelligence and have heard nothing of him since, I conclude he is recovered—his death, as bad news flies fast, I think I should have heard in that time.—Watty Hoxton has been very ill and despaired of—but is now in a fair way of recovering his health: My Father desires to be re-

membered to you: I to your Brother: my love to Daniel: the Mill at last answers our expectations and the labour bestowed upon her.

I am, Dear Daniel,
Your Friend,
CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[5]

[5] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT (1765–66).

LETTER XXXII.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MR. CHRISTOPHER BIRD.

Decbr. 1765.

Dear Xtopher,

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Not from custom or mere civility but from affection and sincerity I wish you the compliments of this season: many happy Xtmasses and new years—I have a regard for all your family but a particular esteem for your Father, Mr. Fentham, and your Aunt Esther—between you and me I think her one of the most amiable women I ever knew, my poor mother excepted. I never loved any of her sex so well with that sort of affection which goes by ye name of friendship, and is ever founded in esteem resulting from the endearing qualities of the mind and heart, sweetness and evenness of temper, sincerity, unaffected piety and benevolence.—Remember me to all enquiring friends: write to me of all my acquaintance and be particular as to one for whose happi-

ness is equally near my heart with my own. I am, Dear Xtopher.

Your sincere friend
CHARLES CARROLL.

A revolutionary society called "The Sons of Liberty," binding its members to compel transaction of business without the use of stamps, was organized at this period, having its origin in New York. Branch associations were quickly formed throughout the provinces, bearing witness to the unanimity of sentiment among Americans, and letters were communicated from New York to Baltimore proposing a similar society to be formed in Maryland, and the suggestion at once took root. "The gentlemen readily come into it," wrote Charles Carroll to Daniel Barrington.

LETTER XXXIII.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MR. DANIEL BARRINGTON.

17 March, 1766.

Dear Daniel,

Your Letters of ye 27 November and 21 December are come to hand, both which I answer in this:—nothing but a great regard for you and your children, and a confidence that from ye example [?] they would be grateful, could have induced me in compliance with ye request to engage to act as your Executor, however remote the possibility might be of my undertaking that so unwelcome and melancholy office.

When you write to your Brother remember me to

him in ye most affectionate manner: and give my love to Danny.

We are still uncertain of our fate, and as men under such a dreadful uncertainty are generally forming conjectures, as either their fear, or their hopes preponderate, so our conjectures are various on ye proceedings of this Session, according to ye different disposition of sanguine or desponding men. Hope in general out-balances fear: and most are of opinion that ye Act will be repealed—of this I am, I must confess, myself—and if the resolutions of the Parliament are not guided by resentment, or by the heat of party and private, interested views, but should flow from ye dictates of cool reasoning and good policy, no thinking man can once doubt what will be ye result of their debates.

Many imagine the Act will be suspended for a time, till some expedient may be hit on to reconcile ye exemption we claim from a Parliamentary taxation, with that right and power so impolitically asserted of late by ye Parliament: if the Act should be suspended till such an expedient can be found out, it will be suspended for all eternity: unless indeed the Parliament should be content with resolving they have such a right and never attempt to carry it into execution; but in that case, it is more probable that immediately on passing this resolve, they will repeal the Stamp Act: since the leaving that odious Law suspended and hanging over our heads, like an immense ruin ready to fall and crush us to atoms by its weight, will only increase ye apprehensions and ill humour of the colonists, and confirm in them a habit of industry and manufacturing which nothing but oppression could have lead them into and perhaps nothing but

a prospect of the same returning upon them once more, will be able to keep up. What! will ye solid advantages of a most profitable, extensive trade, be given up to an empty point of honour? will the very being of Great Britain be hazarded for a thing so unsubstantial? A vote of ye House of Commons asserting their right to tax ye colonies, without an intention to enforce it, deserves no better appellation: and intention or resolution to enforce it, are much worse.—The wisdom of the English Senate hath been much applauded—and times of faction and tumult excepted, equally famed for equity and moderation.—These motives joined with a motive still more powerful, their own interest, which they are too clear sighted not to see, will all strongly operate in favour of America.

The clamour of the People out of doors proceeds from their ignorance, prejudice and passion: it is very difficult to get the better of these by reasoning: we have a much more persuasive and shorter argument and better fitted to their capacities than reasons drawn from ye principles of government and from our own in particular, an argument rather levelled at their pockets than understandings which may indeed greatly contribute by emptying of those to open these: We have nothing to do but hold our tongues, be frugal, industrious, and cloath ourselves; our linen and woolen drapers, who affect to be our sovereigns, will cool, when ye fumes occasioned by too much eating and drinking, have had time to disappear; those haughty manners so unbecoming of fellow subjects and so ungratefully thrown out, they will then own [?] against a people from whom they draw their chief subsistence. Your account of ye de-

bates in ye House of Commons was very entertaining; ye remark of ye member who was to gladen his constituents' hearts with ye views of no monies to be raised, made us all laugh. Jonas Green has ye letter, and intends to insert some extracts he has made out of it in his newspaper.—I am not in ye least surprised at your being disappointed with the speakers, I am doubtful indeed whether you were really disappointed. You must have been too well acquainted with ye Parliament, matters and men, to expect any Ciceros or Demostheneses. Mr. Jordan is not yet arrived, I wish he was, that I might have my books and satisfy my curiosity, for you have raised it not a little by ye account you have given me of the man: you say he has a considerable influence with ye Proprietary: from whence is his influence derived? the scandalous Chronicle here says from ye charms of his wife: it was even hinted that ye sending him here was only a scheme to get him out of ye way: but his Lady's coming with him seems to destroy that report.

In my last of ye 22 December I informed you of ye breaking up of our Assembly in an angry and discontented temper, of a scheme which had been formed for emitting Bills of credit to ye amount of £50000, ye amount of ye publick debt, and how that scheme was prevented by ye miscarriage of ye Journal, by the house insisting that Mr. Ross' claim as clerk of the council be inserted in it. If you have any doubt about ye Justice of that claim, when you have read the messages between ye houses on that subject, your doubts will be entirely removed.—The Messages of ye upper house were penned by Daniel Dulany. Their spirit and poign-

ancy must have disgusted our Patriots: that gentleman is growing unpopular;—it was given out that he had promised under hand, ye Journal would pass. I do not believe it: his conduct in this affair, has been uniform and he seems to have made, for once, a sacrifice of popularity to principle: a Pamphlet of his is now in ye press: the intent of it is to undeceive ye People who have been too long deluded with false representations maliciously thrown out against the Clerk's claim.

Franklin, I hear, has miscarried in his design of a change of government; his disappointment will check ye career and thwart ye views of some men in this province, who tho' they have less understanding, have ye same disposition to gratify their own private resentment, ambition, or avarice, at ye publick expense.

You may probably have heared of ye association of ye "Sons of Liberty" at New York. Letters said to be written by some of those Sons were sent to Mr. Lund of Baltimore town proposing such an association there. The gentlemen readily come into it: the letters were communicated to Paca and Chase, who were to solicit an coalition of ye inhabitants of Annapolis with ye Sons of Liberty of Baltimore. The first step was to open ye public offices immediately to proceed with business as usual. The letters from New York were produced and publicly shewn on ye hill, when ye whole town was assembled; the subscribers were men of little note; some expressions were very unguarded, to say no more. The scheme of opening ye offices seemed to ye most thinking men of ye town, improper at that juncture. We had felt ye inconvenience from a suspension of public business, and knew them, however grievous, not insupport-

able. It was but waiting a few weeks longer, when we had reason to expect very favourable accounts from England; it was time to act desperately, when our affairs were desperate; should force be used to carry ye act into execution, there was little prospect of its being opposed with any success: these reasons urged by ye principal gentlemen of ye town had the desired effect. Nothing was concluded on: the Friday following this meeting, which was on ye Wednesday, the Sons of Liberty from Baltimore town arrived in this city. They were for opening ye offices immediately; the townspeople appointed a committee to confer with them; at last it was concluded that ye offices should be opened by ye 1st of April, if they were opened sooner to ye Northward. A committee of ye Sons of Liberty was named to desire ye officers to open their offices on that day and to insist on written answers to their request: their answers were printed in Green's paper; I think them very unsatisfactory—however, they satisfied the Sons of Liberty, who were on this occasion more easily satisfied than they usually are: Ye next day they returned to Baltimore: the officers of whom answers were required, were Daniel Dulany, Brice, and Dr. Stewart.

You have herewith a copy of ye genealogy you desired. This, I imagine, will meet you in London on your return from Ireland, unless a prospect of succeeding in your business should detain you in that Island longer than you at first intended.—Be pleased to call upon Mr. Bird in White Friars, just behind ye Temple:—he will be extremely glad to see you as a relation and friend of mine: his sister is a most amiable and deserving woman, for whom I shall ever entertain ye sincerest

friendship and I desire you will inform her of these my sentiments. I left a subscription ticket for ye statutes with Mr. Bird's son:—I have wrote to him to send in the volumes which are already published—and I should be obliged to you for bringing with you the remaining volumes.

This letter is already too long, but as I am writing to you, I neither think ye time or trouble lost: the most trivial occurrences to one at that distance and so generally acquainted with ye inhabitants of this Province, must be entertaining. For this reason I am going to communicate the following intelligence, which may properly without any derogation to ye persons concerned be ranked under that head. Dr. Thompson has quarrelled with Clt Hill on his divulging a conversation of Thompson's, at his own house: a challenge was given —but ye peacemaker of Mallborough, Justice Hepburn, interfered and prevented ye consequences of such a duel. Thompson being tied up from avenging himself of his Antagonist, a reflection on ye Roman Catholics and a high chained compliment to Daniel Dulany single combat [?] had recourse to his pen. He published longer letters filled with sarcasms on Hill's tatling disposition, his ignorance, and illiterateness, with his own sentiments on ye Stamp Act.

This affair is now almost forgot. Thompson and Weldon have lately had a battle: Weldon was drunk, and he has received a gash in his face with a hanger which will ever remind him of his indiscretion: nothing else occurs to me at present; perhaps something may before I have an opportunity of sending this: [1]

[1] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

In England, colonial affairs were absorbing the attention of Parliament. To Grenville, the Premier, was due the scheme of laying a duty on American stamps, while the longer-headed and clearer-sighted cabinet ministers sought to check the hot action and dangerous stand assumed by the Home Government. Pitt, sympathizing with the colonies, drew upon his head the ire of his colleague Grenville, and to the imputation of this statesman that the seditious spirit of the colonists owed its birth to certain factions, the "certain factions" meaning Pitt, that orator replied, "We are told," he said, "that America is obstinate, that America is almost in open rebellion; I rejoice that she has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all sentiments of liberty as voluntarily to become slaves, would have been fit instruments to enslave their fellow subjects. . . . I know the valour of your troops and the skill of your officers, but in such a cause your success would be hazardous, and America if she fell, would fall like the strong man embracing the pillars of the State and pulling down the Constitution with her." . . . To this famous oration of Pitt which the Irish patriot Grattan declared superior to any of the declamations of Demosthenes,[2] was due the final repeal of the Stamp Act.

It would seem peace had at length visited the disturbed state of colonial politics. But a restricting clause in the granted repeal had changed what appeared the dawn of permanent agreement to a merely temporary suspension of the final struggle. The effect of the revocation was greatly diminished by the formal declaration, that "Parliament had the power to bind the

[2] Graham's "History of the United States of North America."

Colonies in all cases whatsoever," and Pitt even was found to uphold the hollow principle of a defeated government.

The glaring contradiction in the parliamentary decree did not escape the keen eye of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. "I must confess," he writes to Edmund Jennings, "that Mr. Pitt's idea of a supreme legislative authority stripped of ye power of taxation, appears to me to be inconsistent, and nothing that he has yet advanced clears up ye inconsistency to my satisfaction."

Letter XXXIV.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MR. JENNINGS.

29 May—1766.

Dear Jennings,

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

I have the pleasure to inform you that I have heard your Pamphlet well spoken of by many and those too, good Judges of literary merit: the Revolt of ye united Provinces, or rather the just assertion of their liberties, was well introduced, very applicable to ye point, and filled with judicious and well-timed observations. Your conduct has evinced your attachment to your native country, which, as to myself, I never doubted of:—indeed no man can be solicitous for ye prosperity of Great Britain, who is not equally solicitous for ye interests and wellfare of her colonies. We have just received the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act: this act of Justice and condescension in ye Parliament will, I hope, restore peace and tranquillity to these lately dis-

tressed provinces, and renew in them their usual confidence in, and affection for their mother country—nothing but a repeal and that too, absolute, and immediate could have had the desired effect—the minds of men were estranged; a spirit of resentment roused by oppression had diffused itself thro' all ranks:—you have shewn what despair may do in a people, who deem slavery the worst of evils: an equitable and moderate government only can insure the dependency of these colonies: a constitutional dependance they are proud of—an abject subjection they disdain. Can it be thought possible to keep them under subjection; numerous, and increasing daily in numbers and in wealth, and disjointed from Britain by an immense Ocean, will they suffer themselves to be oppressed by an inferior force? Would it be prudent to make Acts now, to which half a century hence, no obedience may be paid?—The Parliament should be cautious how they pass such Acts, or establish such regulations, which may be hereafter complained of as grievous oppressions.

Acts restraining our trade, and manufactures within ourselves, will certainly a few years hence, fall under that denomination. Mr. Pitt's Speech which, in every other respect was worthy of that truly Great Man, in this seemed to be contradictory and to establish a doctrine diametrically opposite to ye principles of Liberty which he so nobly asserted: the distinction, too, between an absolute legislative authority, divested of ye power of taxation, appears to me a contradiction *in terminis*—how can legislation be absolute and supreme, when destitute of a power, which is its very soul and essence: and without which every legislature must be

acknowledged incompleat, and inadequate to ye ends of government. Here then, says the great Commoner, let us draw ye line:—where? I am sure it will be a mathematical line existing only in idea: the Commons of Great Britain have only a right of taxation by virtue of their representation and if this Principle is admitted, as I think it is on all sides, they certainly have no right to tax America since ye doctrine of a virtual representation is quite exploded. I reason logically and this is the conclusion I draw from that *datum*, whatever resolutions or acts may be passed by ye Legislature of Great Britain.

Upon what Principle, let me ask you, did ye Americans refuse to submit to ye Stamp Act?—Upon ye Principle of not being represented, you will no doubt answer.—True: but what did they apprehend from a want of representation? an oppressive partial and unequal taxation: therefore from a parity of reasoning all Acts hereafter passed by ye legislature of Great Britain manifestly oppressive, partial and unequal, will probably meet ye same resistance from the same principle. For instance, would not an Act prohibiting the Colonists clothing themselves with their own wool, hemp and flax, be every whit as partial and oppressive as ye Stamp Act? It certainly would and infinitely more so: yet if I do not mistake ye great Commoner's meaning, such statute might be enacted by the Parliament in consequence of its supreme and absolute Legislation:—what inconsistency? *Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi.* I am aware of an objection you are ready to make, and therefore shall endeavour to obviate it: if the

colonies are permitted to manufacture within themselves, they will gradually become unserviceable to Great Britain and in time utterly independent.—To this I can only answer—that where land is cheap, men are generally averse to manufactures, necessity only will compell them to it: if Great Britain, therefore, can supply her colonies cheaper and better than they can supply themselves, she need not be apprehensive of their manufacturing for themselves; if not, no restraining acts will be found to answer ye end. If I could make a coat of my own wool, much cheaper and better than what I could have from England, would it not be ye highest injustice to force me to forego such an advantage: would it not be raising a very heavy tax upon my property without my consent, either by myself or by my representative. Another argument occurs to me why such an Act would be not only unjust, but impolitic:—the People on this Continent are increasing fast; it is with difficulty even now they can be supplied from Britain—must those who from their circumstances, situation and numbers can not be clothed in England manufactures, go naked? many other reasons must occur to you, why Great Britain should not exert such a power, even supposing it lawful, which I think would be denied upon ye same principles the Right of taxing was denied.—It is expected the Parliament will allow us to issue a paper currency under proper restrictions: men in trade say it cannot be carried on without it; I am not conversant in these matters:—but I know it is extremely difficult to get in even small sums, from people who are in very good circumstances—and this difficulty can be owing to nothing but a scarcity of circulating money.

You desire me to give you every information in my power of these colonies and particularly of this Province.—I must refer to others whom you may know in England or correspond with here, who from their long connections and acquaintance with these colonies are able to give you much better information than you can possibly expect from me.

I return you many thanks for ye valuable present of ye three busts: I wish this country could boast such Great Originals, or artists who could execute such exquisite copies. All who have seen them admire them.

I send your letter to Bordly and Brice: they and all others are well convinced you were no ways intentionally accessory in procuring the unhappy Hood the office of Stamp Man: this wretch is now forgotten and is still in exile—it is thought he will never return to this Province.

Poor Key died at Marlborough the beginning of this month of a consumption: If you see Mr. Graves, inform him that I have received his letters with ye books and Pamphlets he sent me. I shall write to him by ye shipping in the fall.—Before you receive this I shall have entered into ye holy state of matrimony: I have made choice of a lady about 23 years of age, handsome enough, genteel, sensible and good natured: [3]

At this time Charles Carroll of Carrollton became engaged to Rachel Cooke and announced his approaching marriage to Daniel Barrington.

[3] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

Letter XXXV.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MR. DANIEL BARRINGTON.

29 May, 1766.

Dear Daniel,

I wrote to you ye 17th of last March since when we have received your very interesting letters of ye 4th of that month and 12th of February. We are particularly obliged to you for the full distinct, and the best account I have met with of ye Parliamentary debates on ye Stamp Act;—a few days ago the news was received of its repeal having passed all ye branches of ye legislature.—The *Brutum fulmen* that preceeded the repeal does not in ye least damp our Joy.—It will not hurt us much to resolve or pass an Act that ye Parliament has a right to tax America, if they never put it in practice.

Mr. Pitt's Speech has been in all our newspapers; there are fine sallies in it mixed with absurdities. I pardon these on account of those;—the menaces thrown out to restrain our manufactures were *ad captandum vulgus:* he carried his ideas of Parliamentary power in that point beyond ye possibility of execution and therefore he did not speak his real sentiments;—an argument that proves too much proves nothing.

How does the thick damp air of Ireland agree with you? are you likely to succeed? If you return by ye way of London, pray do not forget to call upon Mr. Bird in White Friars. Our assembly broke up the day before yesterday: the Clerk's claim still remains where it was: no talk of another visit from ye back woods:

Dulany's Pamphlet has set that affair and the other contested points dependent on it, in a clear light. It will not bear annalysing, being chiefly an extract from ye records and Journals of ye assemblies;—this last Session the Lower House sent up the several claims on the Journal, and their own for omitting ye Clerk's in two distinct Bills; the Upper House to ye great seeming disappointment of ye lower—passed ye one but rejected ye other. I say seeming, because I have reason to think their disappointment was mere pretence, and that they expected the Upper House would pass ye one and reject ye other. Since this very expedient of satisfying ye clamorous publick was proposed to ye lower house in a message from the upper in ye preceeding Sessions.

The old Assize Law has been revived this last Session and passed without opposition by ye upper house:—a law calculated to increase fees and to prolong suits at Law.

Jordan and his lady arrived here about ten days ago; I do not hear he is much taken notice of; almost all ye gentlemen have waited on him; *entre nous il est un peu Garçon—sa femme est jolie, et voila peut être le vrai mérite du mari.* My Father is well and desires to be remembered to you.—Before you receive this, I shall probably be married to Miss Cooke: Jack Brice will soon follow my example or perhaps set me one: MacCubbins and Brice have, it is said, adjusted all matters—Anderson courted Miss Milly Ogle, and has wrote home to his Father to obtain his consent, it is thought it will be a match. Your mother and sister were all lately well as also your little daughter who has received ye things you sent her: she was in town at ye races ye 13th in-

stant with her Aunt Digges, whom I then saw for ye first time:—Hamilton's horse Figure wone ye first day's and Mr. Calvert's Regular, the second day's purse. When you write to your Brother, remember me kindly to him and give my love to Danny.—I have now mentioned all ye private and public occurrences that I can think of at present—and shall therefore conclude with wishing you health and happiness. I am

Dear Daniel

Your Affectionate friend and kinsman

CHARLES CARROLL.[4]

LETTER XXXVI.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MR. CHRISTOPHER BIRD.

22 July, 1766.

Dear Xtopher,

Pray present my compliments of congratulation to Mr. Huddlestone on his marriage. What follows is particularly addressed to your Father, for I know old people have more thought than young. I should be much obliged to my old antagonist, whom I long to see and to beat at Chess, to send me some grafts of the large Morello cherry in Mr. Francis' Garden at Nightingale Hall: he may send ye Grafts to Mr. Webb, seedsman in Bridge street, Westminster, directed to my Father.—Webb will take care to forward them to us by ye first opportunity, at least desire him to do it. My sincere respects to your Aunt whom I shall always esteem as one of ye best women I ever knew: I do not forget Mr.

[4] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

Chapman: remember me to your sister and to her husband, and be persuaded that I am

Your affectionate friend,

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

P.S. Pray present my compliments to Mr. Scoen and to his daughters. What I am going to ask, from our friendship I have reason to think you will readily perform: it is to find out Mr. Lockart Gordon, brother of ye Earl of Aboyne. Mr. Graves can probably tell you where he lodges; if Graves should be out of town, you may find him out by a proper enquiry. Mr. Gordon has bought for me two blooded mares. As he is a gentleman of pleasure and no ways concerned in trade, he can not be informed of ye times when ships sail for this Province, and I have great reason to suspect that Perkins and Brown will take no great pains to inform him. Be pleased therefore whenever you go by the Maryland and Virginia coffee house in Corn Hill to enquire whether there are any ships to sail and when for this Province, and whether they are light, for in such only can ye mares be shipped.—Give Mr. Gordon timely notice, that is twenty or thirty days at least, because ye mares are in ye country and it will take some time to bring them up to town and to provide necessaries for them on ye passage. Let Perkins and Browne know that there is such a ship to sail in such a time and that my mares will embark in her. I should be glad you would personally acquaint them when ye ship is to sail, as I think it will mortify them not a little: indeed they deserve to be mortified. I hope this will reach you by ye 20th of September at farthest; I have wrote to Mr.

Gordon by this opportunity to sell ye mares, if they are not shipped off before ye last of October.

I shall endeavour to get more wild turkies' eggs and have them hatched by tame turkies: I intend to keep them all ye winter and perhaps to the month of June or July, about which time, Captain Henrick by whom I write this, generally sails for England.

Henrick is very careful and obliging; the birds too will be stronger and they will have ye advantage of a Summer's passage and I dare say, will arrive safe.[5]

[5] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

CHAPTER IX.

THE RIGHTS OF THE COLONIES (1766-67)—MR. CARROLL'S MARRIAGE.

PITT had now been created Earl of Chatham, and the waves of the tempest attendant on the Stamp Act had partially subsided. But the declaration of Parliament continued to hang, like the sword of Damocles, over the heads of the colonists, and eventually the claims of the Crown were to lead England to the tragedy of independence.

LETTER XXXVII.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MR. GRAVES.

12 August, 1766.

Dear Graves,

. . . . . .

Pray tell Mr. Barrington that as a Lawyer or Judge I should pay great deference to his opinion, but as a politician, I think his views are not very extensive.

My Father is greatly dissatisfied with his present Correspondents. I proposed to him to try our acquaintance Taylor, but he says I can not conceive ye difficulties of corresponding with one out of ye profession: I must submit to his knowledge and experience in these matters.

Can you doubt of your dependency, since ye passing ye late famous Act for securing ye dependency of America?

No argument should be drawn from cases or contingencies which probably can never happen: such I take to be those extreme cases—those state exigencies you hint at—which Mr. Hussey well observed could hardly ever really exist. A responsible unpopular minister, who is driven to his shifts, may indeed be very willing to suppose their existence. But I will suppose some such extreme exigency to call upon ye Americans for supplies: are they not ye best Judges of what they can bear? have they not a competent Legislature within themselves to raise taxes? Believe me the people will always most cheerfully submit to those taxes which are imposed by their own representatives.

Suppose, say you, the Americans should not raise money in case of war on their continent? I will not, I can not suppose any such thing; the case hath never yet happened: their own interest would prompt them to open their purses and to act with spirit, if the war was undertaken for their defence. But in the present situation of things it is almost impossible there should be a war on this continent; our enemies the French are subdued and driven out of North America: the Spaniards are too inactive, too feeble, and at too great a distance to hurt us: the Indians are now peaceable and overawed by our forts and garrisons in ye heart of their Country.

By what title are the Commons of England *sovereign* Judges over the Commons of America? Except the late *ex post facto Law*, is there any other statute declar-

ing the Parliament to have a right of imposing taxes on the Americans for the single purpose of raising a revenue? Your reasons in support of that wild assertion are far from being satisfactory; till you bring better, I must differ from you in opinion. The Americans did petition: these petitions were rejected because the house had gone into ye consideration of the Bill. But a reflection did not, it seems, occur to you, which strikes me; a minister may huddle a bill through both houses: we are at a great distance, a Bill once past is not easily repealed. You say in many of ye charters, there is an express reservation to ye English Parliament of the power of taxing them: of all the Charters, I remember but one, that of Pennsylvania, which hath such a clause. You suppose a great deal more than I shall grant, when you say *it cannot be supposed that ye Legislature of Great Britain will wantonly and unnecessarily impose any tax, or that if any act of theirs be found inconvenient or oppressive, but what they will alter soften, or repeal it.*—What more oppressive and unnecessary tax, than that imposed by ye Stamp Act? and yet what a struggle in Parliament did the repeal occasion! The Eloquence of a Pitt, a Camden, or a Hussey could hardly prevail over a faction, that seemed bent on ye ruin of England and of her colonies.

I thank you for the Pamphlet on general warrants, particularly for ye notes: they cleared up some passages I could only guess at. I am also much obliged to you for Blackstone's book: I cannot see that it is ye least *infected with ye original Tory education of ye author:* his principles, as far as I am able to Judge, are quite consistent with ye mixed nature of our govern-

ment. Would not ye Whiggish principles, if strictly adhered to and practised by Whiggish ministers when in Place, soon destroy not only ye prerogative of the King, but even his very office.

The genuine Principles of either Whigism or Toryism are equally dangerous to our constitution! The power of the King and Lords would be annihilated by the former; by the latter the liberty of ye subject would be taken away and despotism established in its stead.

You seem to take great offence at my saying that the King with ye Assemblies may raise troops and money in these colonies without ye Intervention of Parliament. Whatever you may think, this method upon trial will always be found ye least liable to exception and ye most pleasing to ye people: it was practised with success during the late war. Should this doctrine obtain, you are of opinion that a king of England, might make himself absolute by means of Ireland and ye Plantations. Were you really serious when you wrote this? The absurdities of such a supposition—a moment's reflection will discover. Troops are to be raised in America, paid by America (for I suppose ye Parliament would not pay them, and I will be hanged, if we pay them for such a purpose) to be transported in English bottoms, and protected by English men of war; but, pray where would ye King find ye money to pay his men of war and transports? Would the Parliament sit still and take no steps to tie such a blundering King's hands, or neglect to make a severe example of his ministers? England can never be enslaved but by a corrupt Parliament—this and the immense load of ye National debt are the only evils she has to apprehend, and this last only as pro-

ductive of the first. Your Position that Ireland and America belong to the King, Lords, and Commons is quite new and I believe not warranted by any authority, nor defensible upon the Principles of reason or equity. Your forcible expression of belonging, applied to Ireland is proper enough (whatever Swift says on the occasion in his 4th Drapier's letter Pag: 130: Oct°. Dublin Edition) England has all along treated the innocent and injured Irish, as slaves and beasts of burthen. But America, thank God, is at too great a distance to be treated in that manner; the Americans have too much spirit to submit to such indignities, and will in a few years have a force sufficient to repel them if offered.

As to declaratory Acts made in consequence of some question lately started, they must be looked upon as *ex post facto* laws contrived to meet with ye circumstances of a particular case: the Parliament hath passed an act asserting its right to tax America: our Assemblies, not one excepted, have resolved that the Parliament hath no such right: the question therefore of right is *adhuc sub Judice*, still undecided: for it can never be determined by ye resolves or Acts of the Parliament or of the Provincial assemblies, since both are Judge and party in their own cause. When an important question of right is moved between two large bodies of fellow subjects, the only equitable or possible method, unless they have recourse to ye *argumentum baculinum*, of settling ye dispute is by recurring to ye first principles of ye Constitution, and from their decision there should lay no appeal.

You hint artfully enough that these colonies have been settled by aids and supplies from Parliament: the

fact is not so; for excepting Georgia and Halifax both ministerial Jobs, ye settlement of these colonies have not cost ye Government one shilling and whatever sums have been expended in their defence, England hath been amply repaid by the immense profits of her trade to America.

I read no controversy: the title of the book on miracles raised my curiosity and hath not satisfied it. By this time Jean Jacques Rousseau, I doubt not, is tired of ye wilds of Derbyshire: that restless, fantastical Philosopher cannot live long in any place. I should not be surprised at his writing a satire upon ye government on purpose to draw upon himself a prosecution. I am

Dear Graves
Your sincere friend
CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[1]

Charles Carroll expressed his satisfaction at the raising to the peerage of the great Pitt, whose "memory will ever be revered by ye North Americans, who owe to his eloquence and protection, ye enjoyment of whatever is most sacred and dear to them." Some jests were made as to plots and papists, and in this same letter Charles Carroll announces the date of his intended marriage with Rachel Cooke.

[1] **Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.**

Letter XXXVIII.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MR. JENNINGS.

14 Octbr. 1766.

Dear Jennings,

We have heard of ye late changes in ye ministry and the most unexpected one of Mr. Pitt's being created an Earl—from its being unexpected I would not have you infer that it is thought unmerited; on the contrary none in my judgment are deserving of a peerage but such who have been useful to their country and have pursued its true interest and glory. Doubtless ye original intent of bestowing such honours and creating distinctions between subjects was to reward conspicuous merit; how often they have been conferred with this view, it does not belong to me to say. In ye present instance ye spirit of ye institution has been complied with, whether other motives besides the mere rewarding of merit induced his Majesty to raise the Great Commoner to ye dignity of an Earl, as ye ways of Kings are inscrutable!—Yet perhaps the *éclat* of title may outshine ye patriot's lustre, as lesser luminaries disappear before ye sun or shine with diminished light. Whatever effect this change may have on that great man's future conduct and principles, his past and important services should ever be remembered by a grateful people. His memory will ever be revered by ye North Americans, at least, who owe to his eloquence and protection ye enjoyment of whatever is most sacred and dear to them.

I find there is a report that ye King of Prussia had lost his reason:

France has lost so much by ye late war, that I am convinced she will, when sufficiently prepared, seek some opportunity of renewing it. Spain—from Jealousy of our growing power and her connections with France—will probably be engaged to take part in ye quarrel against us: the Armament, too, fitting out under Captain Wallace will increase her jealousy and fears. Sensible of her weakness in those parts for which it is said that squadron is destined, and of their importance also, she has always endeavoured to shut out every European power from those seas; and ye present attempt to make discoveries and settlements in ye Southern Ocean will be deemed little less than an actual declaration of war.

It does not clearly appear from the Papers what discoveries Commodore Biron has made or where those discoveries lay: by some accounts it seems that ye Commodore has discovered an Island laying off ye Patagonia coast in ye Atlantick near Cape Horn:—by others that he has found out some islands in ye South sea hitherto unknown which are said not to be far from ye Main Land.—As to ye wonderful stories of giants, little horses, great treasure, and little danger of resistance from an unarmed people—they are thrown out *ad captandum vulgus*, or perhaps to engage adventurers by ye strong incentives of curiosity and avarice, passions generally ye most prevalent in such men, to embark in ye fleet now preparing to sail in quest of further discoveries.

Should an authentick account be published of Biron's voyage, I should be much obliged to you for it: but I insist on your sending to Mr. Perkins for ye money, for I will by no means suffer your willingness to oblige me

to be expensive to yourself. Mr. Brice died on ye circuit about ye middle of last month: his eldest son is to be married soon to Miss Maccubbin: and your humble servant expects to set him an example or to follow his ye 5th of next month. It happens to be gunpowder plot—but no wonder that a bloody minded Papist should chuse for feasting and merriment a day which had like (if you believe ye story) to have proved so fatal to a Protestant King and Parliament. Now I have mentioned Protestants and Papists, I could wish and I believe you wish with me, that ye unhappy differences and disputes on speculative points of Theology had been confined to divines; or that the happiness of mankind had been ye object of those disputes. The savage wars, ye cruel massacres, ye deliberate murders committed by law, under ye sanction of Religion, have not reformed ye morals of men. They have indeed answered ye purposes of ambition, they have abetted ye Revenge of an enraged Party and sometimes too they have served ye cravings of Lust.

In this enlightened age we have no reason to expect a renewal of such horrors: but were men as easily misled, there would not be wanting leaders to encourage and incite them and to act ye scene over again. Excuse this digression not in favour of its novelty, but its shortness. I wrote to you ye 27 of last May, which letter I hope you have received. Nothing occurs to me at present worth your notice—but to assure you that I am

Your sincere friend,

CHARLES CARROLL.[2]

[2] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

The day for the wedding of Charles Carroll of Carrollton seems to have been deferred, and necessary dispensations, civil and religious, were only obtained at a later date than the one mentioned to Mr. Jennings.

Document III.

DISPENSATIONS GRANTED FOR THE MARRYING OF CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO HIS COUSIN, RACHAEL COOKE.

I have granted a Dispensation to Mr. Charles Carroll of Carrollton to marry his Cousin Miss Rachel Cooke. Witness my hand

(Rev) John Lewis S.J.

Octr. 14th, 1766.

Document IV.

By his Excellency Horatio Sharpe, Esq;
Governor and Commander in Chief in and over
the Province of Maryland.

Whereas, Application hath been made to me, by Charles Carroll Esquire and Rachel Cooke—to be joined in Holy Matrimony: These are therefore to License and Authorize you to solemnize the said Marriage, between the said Persons, according to Law; there appearing no lawful Lett or Impediment, by Reason of any Pre-Contract, Consanguinity, Affinity, or any just Cause whatsoever to hinder the same.

Given under my Hand and Seal, this 1st Day of November in the Year of our Lord 1766.

To the Reverend Mr. Brogden or any other Minister legally Qualified.

About this time Rachael Cooke fell ill, and after a short illness died, on the 25th of the month of November, in the year 1766.

Letter XXXIX.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MR. CHARLES DIGGES.

28 Novr. 1766.

Dear Sir,

I have had ye great misfortune to lose Miss Cooke: she died ye 25th Instant:—you who were well acquainted with her must be sensible how great a loss I sustained: I assure you I feel all ye weight of it.

As I shall not now want ye Curricle I desired you to buy for me, you need not give yourself any trouble about it. Hayton, by whom this is gone on board, and if ye wind will permit, will sail immediately. Ye want of time and my distress oblige me to be short, I am,

Dear Sir,

Yours affectionately,

Charles Carroll.

to Mr. Charles Digges.[3]

[3] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

CHAPTER X.

THE RIGHTS OF THE COLONIES (1767)—CONTINUED.

LETTER XL.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MR. CHRISTOPHER BIRD.

8 March, 1767.

Dear Christopher,

. . . . . .

I am sorry I have put you to ye trouble of applying to Mr. Molleson about shipping the fillies. Mr. Gordon has been strangely neglectful in that affair: I imputed ye whole blame to Perkins and Brown, but I now find it rests solely on Mr. Gordon—he is a gentleman of honour and veracity or else I would suspect the fillies had never been bought. All's well, they say, that ends well; and I shall cheerfully put up with a year's disappointment if I receive this next spring the fillies, answering ye description Mr. Gordon gives me of a Chestnut he had already bought for me.—As there is a perfect understanding between my Father and me, so there are no transactions which we keep secret from each other; and this accounts for Mr. Brown's writing to my Father about ye Mares—it was ye same thing as writing myself.[1]

[1] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

Discussion on the always burning question of the right of the colonists to tax themselves still continued between Charles Carroll and his friends abroad. To Edmund Jennings he addressed the following arguments and opinions:

Letter XLI.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MR. EDMUND JENNINGS.

9th. March 1767.

Dear Jennings,

I received a few days ago your kind letter of the 18th of last November.—Your desire of being ranked in ye number of my friends is extremely flattering: and I assure you, you may depend on holding one of the first places among them, and I hope you will not think me unworthy of being one of the foremost of yours.

I must confess Mr. Pitt's Idea of a supreme legislative Authority stripped of ye Power of taxation appears to me to be inconsistent—and nothing that he has yet advanced, clears up ye inconsistency to my satisfaction.

How can a legislative power be said to be supreme which is limited? and certainly a legislature, which cannot extend itself to and embrace every part of government, must be acknowledged to be so; but taxation is no part, it seems, of legislation—all monies are the grant of ye commons alone; but is not this very giving and granting an act of legislation? . . . is not ye consent of the Lords who are not ye representatives of the People, requisite to such acts—by virtue of which these monies are collected? Mr. Pitt, indeed, says, that

their consent to such grants is only requisite to cloath them with ye form of Law;—but suppose the Lords should refuse their consent—could monies be raised upon ye people by order or ordinance of ye House of Commons only? surely not without a breach of our constitution.

Had Mr. Pitt said: the House of Commons as the Representative of ye People in England give and grant etc., and that from this power lodged in that house in virtue of its representation all grants of money should take their rise, he would have said nothing but ye truth: but as ye House of Commons of England, is not ye representative of ye Commons in America, it wants therefore that necessary qualification on which all grants of money are supposed to be made and consequently the Jurisdiction or power of Parliament cannot be said to be supreme and complete over America, as it is over England. But this inconsistency in Mr. Pitt's speech is not what displeases me most. Supposing what he advances to be true that ye legislature of Great Britain is supreme in all other instances but that of taxation, the Americans are exposed to an equal danger of slavery and oppression.

If, for instance, the Parliament should have ye right, and should exert it, to restrain us from manufacturing, this Restraint would be more oppressive than ye Stamp Act itself—as it would force thousands to go naked, and those who are able to purchase ye woolen and other commodities, to pay extravagant prices for the [advantage] of [Great] Britain. If I am to be fleeced, an American might say, if my money is to be taken from me without my consent, it is immaterial to me in what manner this

is effected—whether by a tax upon paper, or by an exorbitant price for goods, which I am necessitated to take against my will. I do not see how you can reconcile this assertion of Mr. Pitt's with his principles of liberty, unless perhaps he saw that ye Assertion could be attended with no danger; as ye impracticability of the measure, would always defeat ye principle and render it useless.

There certainly never was a more awkward and bungling attack than what you mention made by the Outs on ye present administration; if the embargo laid on wheat was on creation of the prerogative not strictly legal, yet the measure was confessedly necessary and done with ye approbation of ye whole Privy Council:—no stretch of ye prerogative for ye general good will ever endanger our constitution.

I have some confidence from the abilities and integrity of some of the men now in power, that such measures will be pursued as will tend greatly to ye advantage of our country—the number of great and lucrative posts in ye distribution of ye crown should be lessened together with their profits: the immense debt, one of ye principal sources of ye dearness and badness of our manufactures, ought to be, at least in part, discharged: the venality, avarice and profusion of all orders of men restrained by wholesome laws and ye universal depravity of their manners reformed. These vices in all states have ever been destructive to publick liberty, but these measures I am afraid will only afford a temporary relief; they will scarce outlive their authors, unless the principal evils which threaten our constitution are eradicated. Slow and alterative remedies will not restore us

to perfect, vigorous health; our wounds are deep; they must be probed to ye bottom, many other parts must be amputated, unless a speedy and efficacious remedy is applied. When I reflect on ye inveteracy of the disease and the difficulty of finding out a proper remedy I almost despair of a cure.

A medium of trade is absolutely necessary to a trading people: such has been found ye want of it in this province, that even ye resentment and spirit of party itself has given way to so useful a measure.—The payment of the Journal, or in other words of ye publick debt has been put off for many years by a contest between ye two houses on ye subject of ye Clerk of ye Council's claims. The publick necessity has at last forced ye houses into a compromise: and ye Journal is at length passed. Ye provincial debt amounted to fifty odd thousand pounds; to pay this off and to answer other purposes, an emission of [6 ?] thousand pounds has been made in dollars and aliquot parts of dollars at 4/6 Sterling each.

The Clerk's allowance is to be deposited in ye treasurer's hands, till ye legality of his claim shall be ascertained on appeal to ye King in Council. A lottery has been set on foot to raise 1000 pounds towards defraying ye expense of an agent at home to be employed in prosecuting the appeal on this and other grievances.

I have not heard what number of tickets have been sold, or whether they do sell. I am inclined to think this lottery was only proposed to save appearances: it is certain ye dispute was pushed much beyond ye importance of the subject—and ye lower house might imagine that as the matter had been carried thus far, it could not

with propriety be dropt all at once. As a Bill for an Agent could not pass ye upper house on ye conditions proposed by the lower, this scheme of a lottery was adopted. If it does not fill,—why then ye people will prudently keep their money in their pockets, no defection from the publick cause can be imputed to ye lower house, and their honour is saved—I am

Yours sincerely,

CHARLES CARROLL.[2]

Nine months had elapsed since the death of Rachael Cooke. The August of 1767 found Charles Carroll engaged to Mary Darnall, another cousin. To his friend, Edmund Jennings, he makes due mention of the fact.

LETTER XLII.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

August 13th. 1767.

Dear Jennings,

I have received your kind letter of the 3rd. of last May with ye essay on crimes and punishments, and the tracts relating to ye Roman Catholics, for which I am much obliged to you. The author of ye essays on crimes and punishments has displayed a great fund of humanity in his little work, interspersed with many facts and judicious observations. The comment is plainly ye production of Voltaire's pen: his sarcastic wit and humour are so peculiar and original that ye easily distinguish his works. The free thinker's letters were wrote, I suppose, on ye Bishop of London's shutting up

[2] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

some of ye Roman Catholic Chapels. Seehy, though condemned to a milder death than Calos, seems to have met with equal malice and injustice in his prosecutors. It is really surprising that in this age the two most enlightened nations of Europe should give such shocking instances of religious fanaticism. I am of opinion, were an unlimited toleration allowed and men of all sects were to converse freely with each other, their aversion from a difference of religious principles would soon wear away. At ye same time, if none but those who professed ye established religion were admitted to posts of profit and trust, and ye exclusion of all others made ye sole punishment of their dissenting from ye established mode of faith, this measure might probably make more proselytes thereto, than even ye rigorous execution of penal laws. No persecutions have ever been found effectual in suppressing any religious Sect, unless such as will totally exterminate it either by banishment or by putting to death men, women and children. Ye nature of man is such that he cannot be bit out of his opinions, tho' he may be laughed or coaxed out of them: This form of all others is certainly ye most improper argument to convince ye mind: those against whom it is employed are apt to conclude that their opinions can not be confuted by other arguments.

I did not hear of my friend Col: Ludwell's death till I saw an account of it in ye English papers. I really was much concerned at ye news, for I had a sincere esteem and regard for that worthy gentleman; his remembrance of me in his last moments, as it is a proof of his friendship, cannot but be pleasing. I have not as yet heard from ye executors; one of them in a letter to a

lawyer of this place, first informed me of Colonel Ludwell's having left me ye choice of his books: I have wrote to that gentleman for a copy of ye will, so far as it relates to me but as yet have received no answer.

If Miss Ludwell is still in England, please to assure her of my best wishes for her health and happiness.

Perhaps before you receive this I shall be married. I have been so successful as to gain ye affections of a young lady endowed with every quality to make me happy in ye married State; virtue, good sense, and good temper: these, too, receive no small lustre from her person, which ye partiality of a lover does not represent to me more agreeable, than what it really is.

What I now hope and wish for, is health and happiness and that you will place me in ye number of your friends. If you doubt of having two, at least look upon me as one—for I really am so.

Yours sincerely

CHARLES CARROLL.[3]

[3] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

CHAPTER XI.

MR. CARROLL AS A STOCK-RAISER—HIS MARRIAGE (1767–68).

GENTLEMEN in colonial days frequently imported thoroughbreds for both carriage and saddle use; and many details for the safety and comfort of these four-footed passengers during the long crossing of the Atlantic come down to us in the letters of this volume.

Charles Carroll had requested Mr. Lockhart, a former friend, the brother of the Earl of Aboyne, a Scottish peer, to purchase and send to him in Maryland some blooded fillies with pedigrees well attested. And it is from their early sires of Ireland and Great Britain the better part of Maryland's equestrian stock to-day, no doubt, derive their patrician blood and pure descent.

LETTER XLIII.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MR. GRAVES.

27th August 1767.

Dear Graves,

I have yours of ye 4th of last February now before me; for I keep all your letters not only because coming from you they are really dear to me, but because without doing this it is almost impossible to be a good correspondent. When we are writing to a friend with his

letter upon the table, we are reminded of many little circumstances contained in it, which otherwise would have escaped our notice. Thus, a kind of continued conversation is preserved, and we answer his questions as if present, and are at liberty to propose our own in turn.

I am quite of your opinion and I adopt all your arguments in favour of ye matrimonial state: after such a declaration you will no doubt expect to hear that I entertain fresh thoughts of matrimony. I not only do, but ye thing is already concluded on and the ceremony will be performed some time in September or October next: the lady's name is Darnall, of a good family, without any money: in every other respect she is such as you would recommend to your friend—beautiful, sweet tempered, virtuous and sensible.

You say you believe Gordon will send ye fillies by and bye and behave himself like a gentleman: the enclosed extracts of letters received from a friend in London will convince you of the contrary. I have sent a power of Attorney to Mr. Perkins to sue him for ye money. I am very sorry that I ever commissioned Gordon to buy ye fillies, not merely from ye disappointment I have met with and ye loss I am likely to sustain, but on account of ye indelible stain on his character, which all ye blood of all ye Gordons will never wash away. Gordon, I dare say, had once good principles; there perhaps was a time in his life when ye very thought of such an action would have brought a generous glow upon his cheek. How dangerous is the love of pleasure in all men! particularly in those whose means are so scanty and whose desires so unbounded—poverty and a strong propensity

to pleasure in ye same person are incompatible with honesty.

I propose writing to Barrington to thank him for his ingenious present. He has displayed a great extent of reading in his work, perhaps an affected knowledge of ye languages, and a turn of thought or humour peculiar to himself, with here and there a specimen of false wit.

I intend to peruse it a second time more attentively, for it is a book that will bear reading.

The subject you propose to be discussed by Mr. Dulany, he would not I imagin care to attempt as a matter of mere amusement, unless ye discussion might answer some publick end, and I much doubt whether a thorough investigation would any ways conduce to the mutual advantage of ye colonies and mother country.

Tacitus in speaking of the Emperor Trajan says . . . *duas res olim dissociabiles conjunxit, imperium et libertatem.* Let English ministers endeavour to imitate Trajan: let them assert and maintain the general superintending and controlling power of England and at ye same time studiously avoid such measures as are subversive of American freedom: if this freedom and that power are *res dissociabiles*, incompatible, I am sorry for it, but let us retain our liberty whatever becomes of the honour.

As the ham did not succeed, I have been looking out for some venison hams but hitherto without success: if I can procure any, you shall have a taste of American venison at ye " Crown and Anchor." I think our venison, when fat, preferable to yours.

I am, dear Graves, etc.

Since I wrote ye above, I have seen ye resolutions of the house of Commons of last May. The duties intended to be imposed on ye several commodities therein enumerated are to raise a fund for supporting a board of commissioners of the customs and to render ye governors and chief officers of ye civil department here independent of ye people. How this measure will be relished by ye colonists who are clear-sighted and jealous enough of their governors, you will easily guess. Without any pretensions to prophesy I foretell it will give great disgust, and such impositions on goods of ye manufacture of Great-Britain or exported from thence will certainly lessen the consumption of them, and will have this further bad effect —ye increased value of English manufactures will force ye colonists to manufacture for themselves. Though I expect to hear soon of some act to restrain us from manufacturing altogether: there is already an act prohibiting slitting mills in America. Why not make an act to prohibit us from making shoes, stockings, coarse linens and woollens? In short an act might be so penned as to oblige us to purchase all those articles from England at what price the English shopkeeper chuses to put on them; or in case of our inability to pay for them, to go naked. This would be a very wise act and productive of the following salutary effect: ye English shopkeepers, Merchants and tradesmen would reap an exorbitant profit for what goods would be disposed of. Another advantage would result therefrom to ye nation, which you are not perhaps aware of. The good people of England, are remarkably tractable, submissive, orderly and ye least given to riots of any people in the

world, particularly ye journeymen and handy craftsmen. To what purpose to confine such tame spirits to close labour six days out of seven. Now, in my scheme, their profit would enable those classes to divert themselves three days in ye week—these they might employ in manly exercises: Jumping, Wrestling, heaving ye bar, boxing etc. Such sports invigorate their bodies, fit them to fatigue and to ye toils of war; now perhaps somewhat enfeebled by a sedentary life. But ye chief benefit which would accrue to Great Britain remains to be told.

If ye greatest part of the Americans were constrained to go naked, as they certainly would by such an act as above mentioned, it is more probable ye many diseases incident to this climate would soon put a stop to population; ye severity of ye weather would pinch to death thousands of poor naked Americans who had heretofore been used to cloathing. England would then have nothing to fear from our numbers, whatever she might from our resentment of such usage. You know ye old proverb—nothing so dangerous as to provoke a person able to revenge ye provocation. If England forces her colonies to rebellion, she must take ye proper steps to make that rebellion ineffectual by reducing their strength, and ye most effectual way of doing this is by putting a stop to ye increase of our people; but whether this will answer ye end of colonization, I submit to ye wisdom of higher powers.[1]

[1] **Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.**

Letter XLIV.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MR. THOMAS PHILPOT.

1st. Octbr. 1767

To Mr. Thos. Philpot.

Sir,

Mr. Charles Digges informs me that he hath lodged with you £75 : 0 : 0—the money he received of Mr. Gordon, and has directed you to pay it to Mr. Wildman when that gentleman delivers into your hands two blooded fillies which are to be shipped in Captain Lewis.

I understand since that Mr. Wildman breeds his horses of his own: gentlemen Jockies, you know, are not very scrupulous in putting off ye worst. He has sent in to Mr. Barnes a couple of fillies which turn out but indifferently. These reasons have induced me to caution you against too implicit a faith in Mr. Wildman's words or judgment. You would oblige me by consulting with some other person, a judge of blooded horses, before you strike a bargain with Mr. Wildman.

Unless the fillies he offers, answer nearly the following description, I would not have you buy them, as ye expence and risk of importing fillies are considerable; I should chuse to import none but ye very best.

1st. then, ye fillies you are to ship to me, must be handsome; secondly, large of their age: this qualification I beg you to attend to as essential. 3dly. bony—4th of a bay colour. If fillies having all the other qualities above specified, should happen to be not bay, I would not have you except to them merely on that account: my meaning is only that I should prefer bay

fillies equally good in other respects to those of any other colour. I suppose Mr. Digges left with you proper instructions for shipping them; I shall not therefore be at ye trouble of repeating those instructions. Captain Lewis, I am convinced, will take great care of them on their passage; one thing I must recommend to him, viz. to lay in plenty of water and provisions for them. I had almost forgot to mention a very material point, that is, to have their pedigrees made out and well attested. I desire my compliments to Mrs. Philpot; and am with real and sincere wishes for your success in trade, Sir, your most humble Servant,

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

P.S. I desired Mr. Philpot to send in a groom to take care of ye fillies on their passage, unless there should happen to be a servant on board, who would take care of them.[2]

LETTER XLV.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MR. HARRISON.

19. Jan. 1767

To Mr. Harrison

Sir,

The last Cloathes you sent me fit me very well. As soon as this reaches you, I desire you will make me a plain fresh suit of superfine white cloth waistcoat. I should chuse to have ye coat and waistcoat lined with white silk: this is to be a marriage suit: let it therefore be well made; genteel but without any lace about

[2] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

it, either of gold or silver. As soon as it is finished send it to Mr. Perkins well packed up.

I am etc.

Yours

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[3]

Charles Carroll of Carrollton was married on the 5th of June, 1768, at the residence of his father, Charles Carroll of Doughoregan, in Annapolis, and the *Maryland Gazette* of the 9th of June contained the following:

"On Sunday evening was married at his Father's house in this city, Charles Carroll Esq., to Miss Mary Darnall, an agreeable young lady endowed with every accomplishment necessary to render the connubial state happy."

LETTER XLVI.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MRS. BROWNE.

20 Octbr. 1768.

Dear Madam,

I wrote to you ye 5th. inst. inclosing an invoice of sundries which I requested ye favour of you to buy for my wife: for fear of a miscarriage of that letter I have presumed to trouble you with another and have inclosed a copy of that Invoice. I hope you will pardon the liberty I have taken of troubling you with such a commission, without your consent or a certainty that it would not be disagreeable to you. Your known good nature, willingness to oblige, and the particular regard you used to ex-

[3] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

press for me inclined me to believe you would readily undertake this piece of service. Your good taste too, care and prudence were no small inducements. Had I intrusted a merchant with ye buying of the silk, he would probably have sent to a mercer and ordered such and such things as per Invoice to be got ready to be shipped at such time, and would have given himself no further concern about ye matter. He would not have examined ye silks to see whether they were genteel, well manufactured, and fashionable or too dearly charged. If my first letter comes to hand you will see I have not tied you down to any price, but have left ye whole to your discretion, and good management; confident that you are a much better Judge of a lady's dress than myself, and that you will avoid ye two extremes of extravagance and nearness, and in chusing apparel for my wife will follow ye rule, which you have laid down for yourself and consult rather decency, neatness, and genteelness than finery and magnificence.

About the Brussell's lace and Necklace I shall give no other that ye following directions:—What an elegant necklace or suit of lace may cost I am perfectly ignorant: but for instance, do not scruple to give ten or twelve guineas more, if for such an additional cost, they may be bought handsomer, of a better pattern and design and better executed.

As I have wrote to your Nephew to call upon Mr. Perkins for ye money you will have ye ready money. The lady chuses to have ye silks made up in London; she has accordingly sent her measure for stays and the length of her skirts. You will, therefore, be pleased to employ some skilful mantua maker, and to excuse any

impropriety I may be guilty of in expressing myself on a subject of which I am entirely ignorant. Pray remember me in ye kindest manner to your Brother whom I shall ever respect not only as a formidable enemy at Chess, but love as an honest, sensible, good man. My compliments to Mr. Scoen and family:

I am, Madam, with sincere regard and esteem,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[4]

[4] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

CHAPTER XII.

AFTER THE REVOLUTION—MR. CARROLL IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES (1787–90).

THE formal severing of the colonies with England occurred in the summer of 1776, when Charles Carroll of Carrollton signed his name to the immortal Declaration of Independence.

After his marriage Charles Carroll of Carrollton continued to live at Doughoregan Manor, where his father, his mother-in-law, Mrs. Henry Darnall, as well as his first cousin, composed the family circle. But in 1781 death claimed in a group members of the manorial home. The August of this year saw the demise of Mrs. Henry Darnall, and, hardly twelve months later, Charles Carroll of Doughoregan came to his death by a strange and shocking accident. Standing one day on the large and it appears unenclosed porch of his Annapolis house and watching the entrance of a ship in the harbor, he made a mistep, and falling backward to the ground, broke his neck. Misfortune did not come single-handed. In a little while the death of Charles Carroll was followed by that of his son's wife; for so affected was Mrs. Carroll by the tragic end of her father-in-law that she "who was his constant companion, never recovered from the shock, nor left the room afterwards until death." [1]

[1] Appleton's Journal, September, 1874.

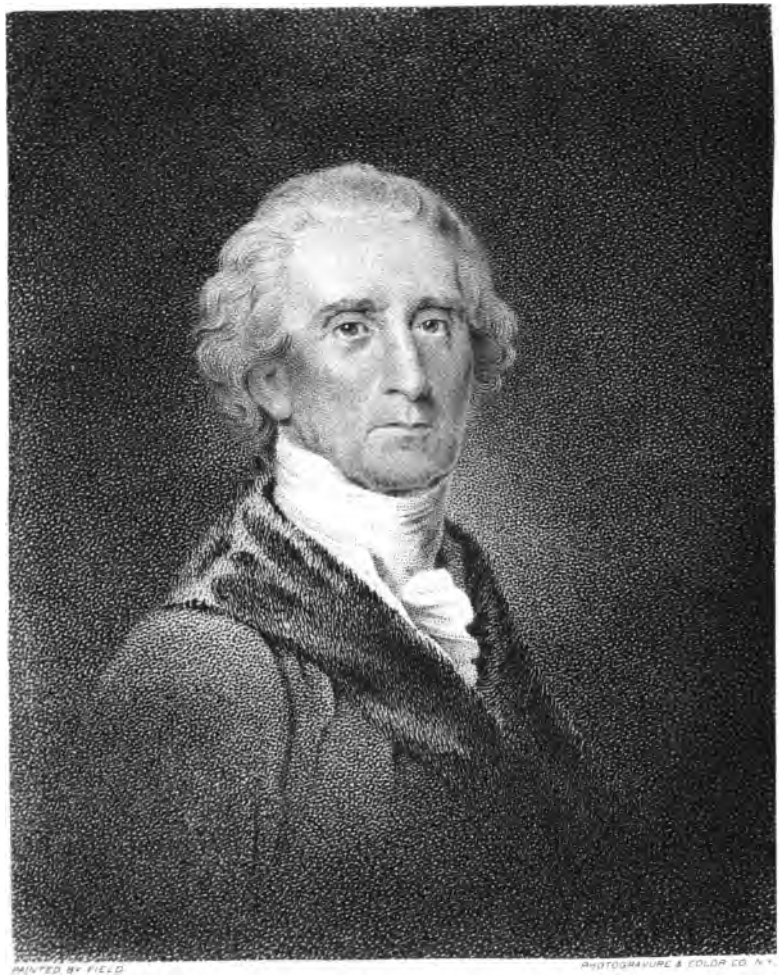
Charles Carroll and his daughter-in-law were buried under the chapel of Doughoregan Manor.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton and his wife had seven children, six of whom were girls.

Charles Carroll "of Homewood," the only son, was sent to Europe to pursue his studies. Returning to Maryland at their termination, he married Harriet Chew, a daughter of Benjamin Chew, the distinguished chief justice of Pennsylvania, and the nuptials were celebrated in Philadelphia on the 17th of July, 1800. At this time Charles Carroll of Carrollton settled on his son the property of Homewood, from which estate he derived his surname. Peggy Chew, a sister of the Homewood bride, married Colonel Henry Howard, an officer of revolutionary fame, the union connecting the Maryland families of Carroll and Howard. Mary, the second daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton (the eldest having died) was remarkable for "the grace and elegance of her manners, and she was," it is said, "a particular favourite of Washington, and one of the most charming ornaments of the Republican Court." [2]

This beautiful sister of Charles Carroll of Homewood was married at sixteen years of age to Richard Caton, a young Englishman, who came to Baltimore in 1785. Originally intending to follow the example of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and interest himself in the sale of tobacco, Richard Caton settled on a more lucrative plan for adding to his finances. Subsequently, it is said, he became very wealthy by the finding of coal at the Cape of Sable.

[2] Harper's Magazine, September, 1880.



Charles Carroll of Carrollton

Another daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Catherine, married, in the May of 1801, Robert Goodloe Harper, Esq., a lawyer of eminence. Though a citizen of South Carolina, Robert Harper, after his marriage, made his home in Maryland, and in the year 1815 became a member of the United States Senate. While Charles Carroll of Carrollton was filling prominent positions in the State, his cousin, John Carroll, who was likewise a fellow-student at the College of St. Omer, joined the ranks of the Catholic clergy, and in time was raised to the highest ecclesiastical position the Catholic Church bestowed in the United States.

DOCUMENT V.

Father John Carroll was born in Maryland the 8th of January, 1736. His family (says Dr. Oliver in the Collectanea, S.J.) had emigrated from Ireland to America in the reign of James II.

. . . . . .

While still young, Fr. John Carroll was sent for education to St. Omer's College.

By the Bull of Pius VI. dated the 6th of November, 1789, Baltimore was created an Episcopal See, and Fr. John Carroll, who had been previously recommended for that office by twenty-four out of the twenty-six priests then living in America, was consecrated its first Bishop.

Upon the receipt of his Bulls from Rome, he (Rev. John Carroll) immediately repaired to England, where his person and merits were well known, and presented himself for consecration to the Right Rev. Dr. Charles Walmesley, Bishop of Reama, Senior Vicar-Apostolic of

the Catholic religion in this kingdom. By invitation of Thomas Weld, Esq., the consecration of the new Bishop was performed during a solemn High Mass in the chapel at Lulworth Castle, on Sunday the 15th day of August, 1790, being the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary; and the munificence of that gentleman omitted no circumstance which could possibly add dignity to so venerable a ceremony.[3]

Document VI.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN BY MR. CHARLES PLOWDEN, S.J., OF THE "PLOWDENS OF PLOWDEN HALL," ENGLAND.

Mr. Editors,

Dr. Carroll was a native of the Province of Md., in which his family held a conspicuous rank. He was educated in the English College of St. Omer, and afterwards became a member of the Society of Jesus in the English Province. He completed his higher studies in the college of Liège, where he was advanced to Holy Orders, and appointed Professor of Philosophy and Theology. After some years spent in this employment, he visited Italy. . . .

The Society of Jesus was suppressed at this time, and its members disbanded and Dr. Carroll then returned to his native country in which he was several years a zealous missioner, and at length was elected first Bishop of the new see of Baltimore. . . .

His present Holiness advanced him to the dignity of

[3] Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus.—FOLEY.

Archbishop, and honoured him with the pallium in 1810.

Reverend Dr. Carroll was the first Catholic Archbishop appointed in the United States. His Episcopal See was in Maryland, and his church, St. Mary's Cathedral, Baltimore. At the completion of this edifice, Charles Carroll of Carrollton was among the first purchasers of the new seats, and frequently occupied his pew during service and on the solemn occasions of his church. On his death he bequeathed it to his daughter, Mrs. Caton, and his granddaughter, Emily Mactavish.

LETTER XLVII.

REV. DR. CARROLL TO CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

White-marsh Novr. 11, 1783.

Dear Sir,

I have been informed, that some time after the establishment of our present Constitution, a law was continued relating to the administration of Orphans' estates, in which, amongst other provisions, was a clause preventing Roman Catholicks from being guardians to Protestant children; and in consequence of this judgment, a clause was obtained in the late General court, disabling one Philip Case of Montgomery County from acting in that quality to his son-in-law. As this clause is inconsistent with that perfect equality of rights, which by our Constitution is secured to all Religions, I make no doubt but you will be able to obtain a general repeal of this and all other laws and clauses of laws enacting any partial regard to one denomination to the prejudice

of others. Mr. Judge Hanson will be able to point out to you the laws in question.

I have been from home several days. You will be pleased to inform Miss Darnall that her Sister is well, and her Father as usual. I hope in a very short time to see you and make you a payment. My affectionate compliments to Cousin Nancy, Miss Polly and your little ones.—With sincere regard, I am

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate

Kinsman and humble Servant

JOHN CARROLL.[4]

P.S. I very much recommend to you and the other Roman Catholic members of the assembly, a business to be proposed to you by Messrs Lewis & Ashton.

The important question of the State debts being assumed by the United States Government was at this time under discussion, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton wrote the following letter on the subject to his daughter, Mrs. Caton:

LETTER XLVIII.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MRS. CATON.

Senate, 14th. Apr. 1790

Dear Molly,

I hope you are safely got to the Manor with your little ones and Mr. Caton, and Mrs. Rankin, and that you find the country as agreeable as Annapolis.

[4] Family Papers of Charles Carroll Mactavish.

I have not yet quite got rid of my cold: a little cough remains, but not dangerous or troublesome, as I do not cough at night.

Yesterday an important question was decided in the House of Representatives viz., the assumption of the State-debts: for assuming 29—against assuming 31. I believe ye minority will still endeavour to get ye State-debts assumed under some limitations and provisions; but I suspect their endeavours will not succeed this Session: and I hope we shall proceed to fund the public debt of the United States without loss of time. However, it is said, many of the minority, who wish the State debts to be assumed by Congress will oppose funding any part of ye public debt, if the State debts are not likewise funded; but these threats will not be carried, I hope, into execution. If they should, I am confident the party will be too small to obstruct the funding of the debt, which has always been acknowledged by all, to be the debt of the United States.

You must be sensible this paragraph is more intended for Mr. Caton's information, than yours; for I suppose you know little about our public and State debts. These however, give *us* no small concern, and trouble, and have divided Congress into two parts almost equal.

I can't at present form any opinion when Congress will adjourn; some think about the end of next month or the middle of June; I suspect that the Session will last till the end of September, and if it terminate in funding the foreign and domestic debt of the Union, I shall not regret its length, tho' I am already tired of my situation and wish to be at home, where I could employ my time more to my satisfaction than in this place.

Mr. O'Neal tells me that the late frost has much injured the fruit, peaches and pears. Let me know whether all the pears and peaches are destroyed; the apples, he says, Harry informed him, were not injured.

I hope soon to have a letter from you and Mr. Caton, and to hear that all things on the Manor, and at his farm [Catonsville] go on well. Give my compliments to Mrs. Rankin. How does she like Doughoregan? Kiss your dear little girls for me, and remember me affectionately to Mr. Caton. God bless my dear child.

I am

Your affectionate Father,

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[5]

[5] Family Papers of Mr. Charles Carroll Mactavish.

CHAPTER XIII.

MR. CARROLL IN THE SENATE—HIS RESIGNATION—FAMILY LETTERS (1790–1800).

LETTER XLIX.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

New York, 11th July, 1790.

My dear Child,

I yesterday acknowledged in my letter to Mr. Caton, the receipt of your letters of the 24th past and 5th instant.

Captain White is expected to return to this city in a short time; by him I shall send the feathers, bouquet, and muslin dress; I shall get Mrs. Courtland, at whose house I board, to procure these articles; she has seen better days, and is connected with the best families in the place: and is a good judge of dress. I however, will see the things myself, before they are bought.

When I have an opportunity I will enquire of the President the character of Driskill, your Overseer.

I had heard of the duels you mention, before your letters came to hand, and conjectured they arose from the very cause you have assigned. A peevish and vindictive temper is always the source of much unhappiness and disquiet. I hope the young gentlemen, who it was

expected, would be engaged in this paltry quarrel, will have more sense than to risk their lives about it.

I am glad the persons you allude to, say nothing of paying a visit to Doughoregan; they always came with too great a *cortège.*

I long to be at home and with you, and to see my little grand daughters. I suppose Mary Ann chatters a great deal.

I have some expectations that Congress will be able to go thro' the necessary business of the Session by the middle of next month, as the questions of temporary and permanent residences are now settled; and in my judgment, well settled if the general good of the whole Union is regarded. Maryland, no doubt, would have been more benefitted by having the permanent residence fixed at Baltimore Town; but this measure was not obtainable; nor was that town held out with any serious intention of removing the Seat of Government to it. Its advocates (half a dozen excepted) proposed Baltimore in opposition to Pohvomashi, to keep Congress here three or four years longer, which time it would be impossible to effectuate the removal. All the eastern States, New York, Jersey and the eastern part of Pennsylvania would then oppose the execution of the law; the Southern States (I mean Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina and Georgia) are not much attached to Baltimore, nor would they insist on the laws being executed at ye hazard of the Union. Maryland will be greatly benefitted by having the permanent Seat of the Government within its limits; the Seat of Government of the United States will give a consequence and opulence to our State, which will put it on a par

with either of its neighbours, and being more compact and more united it will enjoy advantages superior perhaps to those of any other State in the Union. I am persuaded that in five years after ye removal of Congress to Pohvomach, the Susquehanna will be opened, which will add greatly to the growth and prosperity of Baltimore Town and the State of Maryland. Thus I have reasoned, and tho' I do not expect to live to see the accomplishment of these predictions, I am confident *if the Seat of Government of the United States is fixed on the Pohvomack* [*Potomac*], *in Maryland, they will be verified;* keep this letter by you, and if these great events *shall* happen, shew it to your children; they, and the descendants of my fellow citizens will, perhaps, then approve that foresight which contributed to procure such solid advantages to Maryland at the expense of a temporary popularity.

I am, my dear child,

Your affectionate Father,

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[1]

LETTER L.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MR. JOSHUA JOHNSON.

Annapolis 5th March, 1793.

To Mr. Joshua Johnson.

Dear Sir,

My last letter to you was dated the 19th January. Yesterday I was favoured with yours of the 2d. January inclosing one from my son, which relieved my mind from no small anxiety on his and Kitty's account.

[1] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

Charley's letter is of the 15th December. He writes that not the least irregularity was committed by the French on their entering Liège; but from the English newspapers of a posterior date, I perceive, that complaints had been made by the People of Liège and Aix la Chapelle to the national convention against the behaviour of some of their troops. If the accounts we receive from England are to be credited (and they appear to be authentic) all the French armies were then greatly distressed by the want of every article essential to the well-being and support of an army, viz. pay, provisions, and cloathing. Considering these disadvantages, under which their troops have laboured for some months past, their successes and progress are indeed surprising. But France must soon expect, or has already experienced a reverse of fortune; torn to pieces by internal discord, without a government (the present does not deserve the name) and destitute of money and credit, how is it possible she can stand the combination already formed, and forming against her? If the different factions, which distract and afflict that unhappy country, would lay aside their animosities and unite in establishing a limited government, under the guidance of wisdom and law, not to be dictated to, and controled by a licentious populace, instigated and ruled by a few abandoned wretches, there is still a possibility that France might yet be saved from the destruction, to which she seems doomed; yet such is the inveteracy of these parties, that wisdom and moderation are not to be expected from them. I am told by Captain Campbell of this city that the directors of the bank of the United States have adopted a plan for the payment in foreign

countries of the dividends on its capital stock due to foreigners; probably the Secretary of the Treasury may extend the plan to the payment also of the interest accruing to foreigners upon the public Securities of the national government. As I have resigned my seat in Congress, I have not of late much attended to its proceedings, and have but a very superficial knowledge of the present fiscal arrangements; nor indeed will I vouch for the truth of the above information. However I must observe Captain Campbell is pretty accurate and correct in such matters. I beg the favour of you to forward to Liège the inclosed letters to my son, and Mr. John Laurenson his master. I am with regard,

Dear Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[2]

LETTER LI.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MRS. CATON.

My dear Molly,

I received by your brother your letter of last Thursday. Mr Ashton, who is now with us, told me he heard that Cousin Dan Carroll was much better. The last time he was here I perceived so great a change in him, that I then thought he could not survive many months. His death, whenever it happens, I shall sincerely lament; he is an old acquaintance; we have always been on the most friendly terms.

I beg my dear child, that you will use constant and

[2] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

moderate exercise; go about your house, endeavour to acquire a knowledge of managing a family, regulate the economy of it; these duties will occupy your mind and exercise your body, and prevent that languor and listlessness which arise from idleness, lolling on the bed, and reading romances. I am persuaded that the frequent lecture of novels unfits the mind for solid improvement; a person much addicted to novel-reading seldom reads with pleasure or profit other books.

Were I to indulge my own feelings and inclinations, I should always wish you with me, and I shall be ever happy, when you can visit me without rendering your absence from home inconvenient to your husband; he is tender and affectionate, and deserves from you a return of all those little attentions and tender solicitudes which render the marriage state happy.

I am sure without the mutual performance of those civilities attentions and endearments, I have just spoken of, there can be but little happiness in the married state; and without being happy at home, it is vain to look for happiness abroad. I can not help thinking there is, particularly in this place, a great deal of precious time wasted in the most frivolous amusements; the chit chat of the tea table, dress and morning visits seem to be almost the sole employment of those ladies, whose parents and husbands are in circumstances to admit the abuse of such silly indulgences.

Perhaps you may think this too serious and preaching a letter. I wish your happiness, you are often in my thoughts; if you practice those duties, I have glanced at, you will be happy; if you should neglect them, your conscience will reproach you with the neglect of them;

and what becomes of happiness when the mind is not at ease?

I am your affectionate Father,

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[a]

LETTER LII.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

My dear Mary,

Emily is now well; Mrs. Shaw is in Baltimore, she went with your uncle on Saturday to buy some articles; to-morrow I shall send my carriage to bring her back, and Elizabeth and Emily Harper. A Mr. Grahame, who formerly resided in Baltimore, and now is settled at Wheeling on the Ohio, has just left me, he says he knew you in Baltimore; he is a quaker and has read Thomas a Kempis, Fenelon and Massillon's sermons. By his account the quakers, or at least many of them, read Roman Catholick books; few, if any of that sect embrace our religion, I believe. Grahame alluded to the writings of Fenelon about the love of God; you have read or heard of the celebrated dispute on that subject between Fenelon and Bossuet; the writings, or rather the opinions of the former were condemned by the Pope; they were judged to be too mystical and rapturous. The pure love of God, my dear Mary, remained with the frailties of our nature, (the piety, great learning and excellent understanding of Fenelon did not prevent him from running into error on this subject) can alone make us happy in this life, and nothing else can secure our happiness in the next.

[a] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

Give my love to Mr. Patterson and remember me kindly to him. God bless you my dear child.

Is Miss Woodbridge content with her situation? I should be sorry she should leave you, because I do not think you will be able to procure a governess equally capable of bringing up the children. Have you got rid of the fine lady you picked up at Newport? This disappointment, and the incidental expense will no doubt render you more cautious for the future in trusting recommendations of interested persons; it was her sister, if I am not mistaken, who recommended her to you.

I suppose you frequently see Mrs. Howard; please to present my compliments to her and to her Sisters. Colonel Howard, I imagine will remain many weeks longer in Philadelphia, as it is supposed the present Session of Congress will be a very long one; I hope it will be productive of much more good than our late Session; we have sat long and done nothing of moment, and have spent the State's money idly and unprofitably.

I have nothing more to add at present than to assure you of my tenderest regard and anxious solicitude for your welfare and happiness here and hereafter.

I am

Your affectionate Father,

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[4]

LETTER LIII.

Brooklandwood, 23rd Oct., 1800.

Dear Charles:

I got here last night more than two hours after sun-

[4] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

set. Mr. Caton accompanied me from Belvedere. We were overtaken with a thunderstorm about three miles from this place and heavy rain. We took shelter and remained upwards of an hour in a poor cottage where we sat during the height of the storm by a comfortable fire. The good inhabitant, a mother, was giving supper to her three children; it consisted of boiled Irish potatoes and milk. They ate their supper with a good appetite, and were immediately put to bed. What do you think were my thoughts during this scene? It occurred to me that in the course of a few years I might be driven into exile by the prevalence of an execrable faction, and forced to shelter in as poor a hovel the remnant of a life, a considerable part of which had been faithfully devoted to my country's service. I reflected, however, that if this turn of fortune should fall to my lot, very little would support nature. This train of thought brought forcibly to my mind the wise lesson of Ulysses to one of the suitors. It is well worth your perusal and observance; the poetry is fine, the advice worthy the wisdom of the much enduring and experienced man, and the morality truly sublime. Such reflections are necessary and should be frequently entertained in times like these, by men whose present prospects are bright and promising. They serve to prepare the mind for adversities, and enable us to bear frowns and snubs of Fortune with resignation and fortitude. A mind thus lectured and tutored, will derive self-satisfaction from the consciousness that it will remain firm and unbroken in the midst of adverse storms. Can the pitiful pleasure resulting from a fine equipage and the gratifications of wealth, which the greatest villains may

enjoy, be compared with this firm and steady temper of the mind, and its advantages? . . .

Give my love to Harriet, and kind remembrances to her sister Maria and the rest of the family. I called Tuesday on Mrs. Howard. She and the children and Miss Nancy were well. They will remove next Friday from the country to Belvedere. Enclosed is a letter for Maria which I forgot to leave with Nancy Lloyd to be put into the post-office. I hope Maria will excuse this forgetfulness. I send you also a letter from your acquaintance Geraw which I opened through mistake, thinking it addressed to myself. Mr. and Mrs. Caton desire to be kindly remembered to you and Harriet and the dear family.

Be frugal, be thoughtful, be methodical. You will have great occasion for the full exercise of all these qualities.

Your affectionate father,

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[5]

[5] Family Papers of Mr. Lee Carroll.

CHAPTER XIV.

MR. CARROLL AND HIS CHILDREN (1814–17).

When Charles Carroll of Carrollton attained to his eightieth birthday, the venerable statesman had already retired from the arena of public life. The earlier part of an existence long and honored was spent in an unceasing striving for the welfare of his fellow-countrymen and the service of the State. Now from the semi-seclusion of his historic home, the aged Signer continued to be an interested and not altogether silent watcher of the progress of the American Union he had helped to form and of those other events, harassing and extraordinary, which stirred to its core Europe and the civilized world in the earlier part of the nineteenth century.

Letter LIV.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MRS. CATON.

Annapolis 26th April 1814.

My dear Mary,

I enjoy very good health, and good spirits too, tho' solitary; but it is good for man especially an old man to be at times in solitude, it is the nurse of sense and reflection, and as I am drawing to the close of my career,

it is salutary to think of a better state of existence, and gradually to wean myself from the passing scenes of this bustling world; I can say with truth I am but very little attached to it, indeed not at all to the world and its vanities, but to my near and dear connections perhaps too much. God bless you my dear child.

I am

Your affectionate father

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[1]

LETTER LV.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

19th May, 1814

My dear Mary,

I had received from Mr. Harper the first intelligence of the late glorious tidings, and am much obliged to you for the promptitude with which you endeavoured to communicate them.

No doubt the Allies will lose no time in following up their successes; they will not be complete till they have defeated and dispersed Bonaparte's army and disarmed all his adherents: he must be killed, or driven out of France, and, in the latter event, I know of no place in which he could find so kind a reception and protection as under the fostering care of the grateful democracy of this country.

God bless you my dear Mary.

I am

Your affectionate Father

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[2]

[1] Family Papers of Mr. Charles Carroll Mactavish.

[2] Ibid.

Letter LVI.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Doughoregan 19 May, 1815.

My dear Mary,

I learn that a vessel has arrived at Boston, bringing an account of England's declaration of war against France; from this I infer that all the great powers of Europe have ventured into the war against France—I wish them success.

I much doubt the truth of the reports which have reached general Willot; these, I suspect have been invented and circulated by the enemies of the Bourbons, and to justify the proceedings of the French army, their perjury, and Bonaparte's invasion and perfidy.

. . . . . .

I am your affectionate Father

Charles Carroll of Carrollton.[3]

A month from the date of the above letter, Napoleon was defeated and exiled to the rock of St. Helena. A letter written by Colonel Sir Bathurst Hervey, the first husband of Elizabeth Caton, Charles Carroll of Carrollton's granddaughter, gives details of the battle of Waterloo by this eye-witness of the most famous conflict of modern times.

[3] Family Papers of Mr. Charles Carroll Mactavish.

Letter LVII.

COLONEL BATHURST HERVEY TO CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

Extract from the letter written by Colonel Sir Bathurst Hervey to Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

. . . . . .

Such a quantity of Ammunition had been lost the preceeding day that on the 17th Prince Blucher informed the Duke that unless he could furnish him with some, it would not be in his power to afford him any assistance in the event of a Battle. A supply was in consequence ordered up from Brussels for their use, but by great exertion they got up during the night a sufficiency from their own reserves and ours was not required.

The Morning of the ever memorable 18th of June was thick, and a small drizzling rain fell so that the enemy could not be clearly distinguished till towards 8 o'clock, tho' a continued drumming, and noise in the enemy's camp indicated an approaching battle. At about 6 o'clock the Duke rode along the position making such alterations in the disposition of the troops and giving such orders as he judged necessary. And we could then plainly perceive the enemy forming their columns of attack. The army under the Duke was formed in the manner, marked in the accompanying plan, and to his Grace's dispatch I must refer you, as the best description of the formation. Between 10 and 11 o'clock we discovered the Prussian advanced Guard about 7 miles on our extreme left, and we then hoped that they would come into play towards one or two

MRS. RICHARD CATON NÉE MARY CARROLL.
After A Miniature in Possession of the Family.

o'clock, but the difficulties they experienced from the badness of the roads in the pass to St. Lambert thro' which they were forced to march delayed their anxiously expected assistance till near 5 o'clock.

At 11 o'clock as nearly as possible (for I particularly noted the time) the signal of attack was fired by the enemy and was directed against the wood and Chateau of Hougomont by Jerome Buonaparte, but as soon as the columns shewed themselves from under a rising ground, under cover of which they had been assembled, a Battery of 16 pieces of cannon opened upon them with such effect that they were compelled again to seek the shelter of the valley and to abandon the attack upon Hougomont in that direction. The enemy's next grand effort, which immediately succeeded that above was upon the centre and left centre of our position and the object to get possession of the left road to Brussels which intersected the position. This attack was met and repulsed in the finest manner by a Corps of Belgic troops, and the 5th British division under Sir Thos. Picton who was killed at their head. When the enemy had turned their backs to our Infantry, a most brilliant charge was made by the Brigades of cavalry under Sir Wm. Ponsonby, and Lord Howard Somerset; the result of which was the capture of about 2500 Prisoners, and two Eagles, and the destruction of a Battery of 30 pieces of cannon. For a short time after this unsuccessful attempt, there was a lull, but Buonaparte was not a General to be disheartened by trifles and from two o'clock until dark we had to oppose a repeated and continued succession of attacks, much of the same nature—the one with the other—which would be uninteresting

in the detail. They were chiefly made by Cavalry who distinguished themselves highly, but the steady valour of the Infantry formed into squares of battalions and latterly when our loss had been very severe, in lines of four deep, supported by the brilliant example and energy of their Commander, rendered defeat impossible, and tho' they were frequently in momentary possession of our advanced batteries, the fire of the squares, and the charges of the Cavalry thro' their intervals, very shortly compelled their retreat and the French Infantry were prevented efficaciously co-operating with their Cavalry by the well directed fire of our artillery, who were positively forbade to engage *en duel* with the enemy and wholly to reserve their fire for the advancing columns. During the whole of the day the attack upon Hougomont was continued and a French Ad. [adjutant?] states that 60,000 men were employed at different periods of the day in this operation; but notwithstanding that the enemy succeeded in burning the house, the smoking ruins were defended in the most gallant manner by detachments from the two brigades of British Guards, and some of the Nassau troops to whom this important duty was entrusted and their force did not exceed 6,000 men.

About 5 o'clock the Prussians began to attract the attention of the enemy, and they soon became pretty sharply engaged in the Villages of Smohain and Planchenoit, and Buonaparte now seeing a prospect of an unpropitious termination of the battle, determined upon making one more desperate effort upon our position with a view if possible to carry it before any considerable force of the Prussians should arrive to assist us.

He consequently advanced at the head of his old Guard; and, I think, the spot marked N. 3, in the Plan, is nearly the one from which he directed the tremendous conflict that ensued, except that La Coste, the peasant Buonaparte had with him as guide, describes it as being on the left of the Genappe and Brussels road, and as being sheltered by a small Ruole [brook?]. This last effort terminated after a most bloody conflict in the total overthrow of the Old Guard and the Duke who had been anxiously watching the result, perceiving the confusion occasioned in the enemy's ranks by the defeat of their comrades, whom they had been taught to consider as invincible, ordered an instantaneous advance of the whole line, to which a very feeble resistance was opposed and we continued pressing the enemy then in complete disorder and scattered over the face of the country till 10 o'clock, when falling in with The Prussian columns at the few houses marked on the plan *Maisons du Roi*, we abandoned the pursuit to them, and the Duke returned to Waterloo between 11 and 12 o'clock.[4]

. . . . . .

After a period of peace, war was again declared between England and the United States, on the 19th of June, 1812, and a year later the British fleet sailed up the Chesapeake, plundering in its course. Great trepidation was felt in Maryland at the threatened bombardment of Baltimore, and hurried preparations were made for the removal of valuables to places of safety.

[4] MS. letter owned by Charles Carroll Mactavish, Esq.

Letter LVIII.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO HIS SON.

Annapolis 12th March, 1813.

I have to dine with me Mr. Moore, the British agent, and Captain Ben of the Francis Freeling, the British packet now lying in this harbour. I am much pleased with Mr. Moore. This port is appointed for the reception of flags of truce, and Mr. Moore is to have the management of them, to receive despatches and forward them to and from our government. Mr. Caton seems apprehensive that the British will bombard our town, and even poor Annapolis may not escape; the insignificancy of the place, and its being the station for flags of truce, will exempt it from that calamity. Indeed I do not believe the enemy will bombard any of our towns; they will probably enter the port of New York, destroy the forts and our frigates there, and at Boston and Norfolk. I should not be surprised at their landing near Washington on the Potomac from 1,500, to 2,000 light troops, and making a rapid march to Washington and destroy the Dock Yard there. The government does not appear to apprehend such a *coup de main,* and I suspect is not prepared to defeat it. I believe the British will take Rhode Island and fortify Newport, the port which a French fleet would certainly steer for, and which I am confident the British expect, or they would not send to this country 19 sail of the line.[5]

Charles Carroll of Homewood and his wife had seven children. Of these the eldest, Charles, known as

[5] Family Papers of Mr. John Lee Carroll.

Charles Carroll of Doughoregan, was next heir to the family estates, his father having died during the lifetime of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

The manor house of Doughoregan was built about the year 1727, together with its private chapel, in which lie buried the members of the Carroll family for a hundred and fifty years. Doughoregan Manor was added to in the course of years. The right wing, it is said, contains the billiard-room and portrait-hall wherein hang the ancestors of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Maryland was dotted with many splendid colonial country houses, surrounded by cultivated and wooded lands of great area. The handsome property of Homewood was bestowed upon Charles Carroll of Homewood by the Signer, and after her marriage Mrs. Caton, the daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, lived at Brooklandwood. Her husband, Richard Caton, also owned Catonsville, a country-seat, whose suburbs and adjacent village are called after him. The "American Graces," the daughters of Richard Caton, who made brilliant marriages in England, divided their girlhood days between "Brooklandwood" and "Catonsville"; and the old house where they lived on the latter property still stands. The estate passed to the youngest of the Caton sisters, Emily Mactavish, and remains to-day in the family of that name. Colonel Edgar Howard, who, it is remembered, married a sister of Charles Carroll of Homewood, owned "Belvedere," where he passed many of his days with his Philadelphia bride. "Carrollton Hall," a part of Doughoregan manor, was given by Charles Carroll of Carrollton to his granddaughter, Mrs. Emily Caton Mactavish, at the time of

her marriage; and here the venerable Signer frequently visited his granddaughter and her husband. The latter, a Scotch gentleman, changed the name to "Folly Hall,"[6] from an estate of that name owned by his own family in Scotland. A short distance from the Hall stands the private chapel and the handsome bath-house with its bath of white marble. Here, tradition says, Charles Carroll of Carrollton delighted in his daily cold ablution.

"I entered on my eightieth year on the 19th of last month, and I daily go to my cold bath," he wrote his granddaughter, Elizabeth Caton. Charles, the son of Charles Carroll of Homewood married Mary Digges Lee of Virginia. Mary, his sister, became the wife of Richard Bayard, Esq., of the distinguished family of that name in Delaware, while a third daughter married John Lee of "Needwood" in Maryland. Richard Caton and his wife had four children, all of whom were girls. The eldest, Mary, became the wife of Robert Patterson, the brother of Miss Patterson, who married Jerome Bonaparte. The three eldest of the Caton sisters went to Europe in the spring of 1816, and were greatly admired in England, where they were called "The American Graces." In London they became the recipients of "marked civilities and attentions," among others, from the Prince Regent and the Duke of Wellington.

[6] "Folly," a name often given to English country-seats, is said to come down from the villas of ancient Rome.

Letter LIX.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MRS. PATTERSON.

Doughoregan 16th. Oct. 1816.

My dear Mary,

I have received your letter of 2nd August from Cheltenham and the contents of all your and your sister's letters to your parents and to Emily have been communicated to me. But nothing affords me so much satisfaction as to hear, your's and Louisa's health is so much improved. I was apprehensive that dissipation and late hours would counteract the benefits of the voyage, and the waters of Cheltenham.

Mr. and Mrs. Bagott[7] have lately returned from New York to Washington; the death of Lady Louisa Bagott has hurried them back to the seat of government sooner than they intended; that unexpected and melancholy event will prevent them from seeing company or accepting invitations to dine out for some months, and I presume will cast a damp on the spirits of their family and connections.

You have received, I understand, marked civilities and attentions from the Prince Regent and Duke of Wellington and other distinguished persons which have been noticed in the public prints as well as in private letters.

Although we are all anxious for your return home, and no one more than I am, yet I would wish you to re-

[7] Mr. Bagott was the British Minister to Washington.

main in England till some time in the ensuing autumn, to make another trial of the Cheltenham waters before you embark: but this must depend upon Mr. Paterson's will and decision.

Give my love to Betsy and Louise. I have received Betsy's letter of 23rd. June from Liverpool, and answered it on the 2d. September.

The late has been the coolest summer ever known in Maryland; the crops of wheat good; but of corn very bad.

What a dissipated life the fashionable in London lead! what time have they for reflection? the nights consumed in a variety of entertainments and amusements, and a large portion of the day in bed. Their manners are most agreeable and fascinating, and no doubt their tempers are amiable. Yet, to me, used to a comparatively retired life, such a whirl of pleasure appears incompatible with real happiness; for that depends on the love of God, a good conscience, and the exact and faithful discharge of the duties we owe to God and man. You did not mention the name of the person, the proprietor of the springs, who forty years ago spent a week with my father at this place. If you should see Mr. Maud do not forget to tell him, that he holds a place in my remembrance and esteem.

Your Mama left me about ten days ago: she and your Papa are now at Brooklandwood: Mrs. Harper is with me, and Mr. Harper attending the court in Baltimore, and Mrs. Shaw on a visit to Mrs. Latimer.

I desire to be affectionately remembered to Mr. Patterson. God bless you and your sisters and husband and return you all in good health to your native country.

Your aunt begs me to remember her to you all most affectionately.

I am

Your affectionate Grandfather

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[8]

LETTER LX.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO HIS GRAND-DAUGHTER, BETSY CATON.

Doughoregan. 23rd. Oct. 1816.

My dear Betsy,

I received yesterday your very interesting letter without date, written I presume, in August, and, certainly, from its contents, from Cheltenham. Among the many pleasing incidents mentioned in it, none were so interesting as the improvement of your sisters' health. It is my sincere wish that the voyage to Europe, the change of climate, the waters of Cheltenham may not only remove for a time their complaints but lay the foundation of permanent good health: give my love to them, assure them of my tenderest affection and be you also, my dear Betsy, assured of the same. You are all frequently in my thoughts. The Duke of Wellington, if ever man was dear to his countrymen, deserves to be so from his important services to them, and indeed to all Europe; his victories have not only established his fame as a great military commander, but have been obtained in the justest cause and have given independance to the nations of Europe; that his Duchess should incessantly

[8] Family Papers of Mr. Charles Carroll Mactavish.

speak of him, is quite natural; she must glory in having such a husband. By this time, I presume you are preparing to visit Paris, and I hope you will spend your time agreeably in it; Julius I am sure, will be overjoyed to see you and will do all in his power to make your sojourn in Paris agreeable; he is an excellent young man; all his actions demonstrate a feeling and grateful heart.

I have received Mrs. Patterson's letter of the 2nd. August which I answered on the 16th of this month.

I have no doubt the gay scenes you have been engaged in, and the amusements you have partaken of, will endear to you all the comforts of a domestic fire-side. After all, nothing can contribute to real happiness but a good conscience, health and competency; the continued round of amusements and dissipation is incompatible with serious reflections and the discharge of those duties which we owe to society, to the station of life we fill, and to those with whom we are more intimately connected.

Your Aunt Harper, who is now with me and has been since her return from Canada, will take her daughter Elizabeth, in a few days, to Mrs. Seaton. No doubt your Papa and Mama write frequently to you, and give you all the passing occurrences within the sphere of their knowledge and acquaintances. The retired life I lead, precludes me from knowing the fleeting incidents of the days, and when I mixed more with the world than I do now, I was no gossip. I will tell you however, what I am sure will give you pleasure, that I enjoy the same health as when you started from me, that I entered on my eightieth year on the 19th of last month and that

I daily go into my cold bath. God bless you, my dear Betsy, and return you all in good health to your home. I have had no letter from my dear Emily [Mactavish] since her arrival at Montreal. I expect one every day.

Remember me very affectionately to Robert. I hope he is not tired of England, and homesick. The last winter has almost destroyed all the partridges; were he here, I do not think he would meet with a single covey in a whole day. I suppose he meets with fine sport in some of the gentlemen's country seats. How will you relish this manor with its rude state after viewing all those beautiful and highly improved seats? Yet it is not the Manor, but its owner you value, and endears the place to you.

God bless you.

I am,

Your affectionate grandfather,

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[9]

[9] Family Papers of Mr. Charles Carroll Mactavish.

CHAPTER XV.

MR. CARROLL AND HIS GRANDDAUGHTERS (1817).

The following year Louisa, the third of the Caton sisters, became engaged to Colonel Sir Bathurst Hervey, the aide-de-camp of the Prince Regent, who, as already stated, attended the Prince on the field of Waterloo, and wrote an account of the battle to Charles Carroll of Carrollton. This same year the three sisters went to Paris, where they were presented to the royal family. To "Betsy" Caton Charles Carroll of Carrollton wrote his congratulations on her sister's engagement to a man "so universally esteemed and beloved" as Colonel Sir Bathurst Hervey.

But the passage from Maryland to England in those days was still a journey of many weeks, and the Signer's letter was not received until after the wedding had taken place.

Letter LXI.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Annapolis 22d May, 1817.

My dear Betsy,

I have received your two letters of 13th. February and 5th. of March from Paris: the first described your introduction to the King and royal family of France. I

hope that nation and family after such long and severe sufferings, may enjoy tranquillity and happiness, and that the former may feel and justly appreciate the blessings of peace. While in Baltimore, I dined with good Aunt Gough; your Mama, Aunt and Uncle Harper, and your Uncle Charles and several of her connections were of the party. A day or two after the dinner, I paid a morning visit to that estimable woman; her room was crowded with ladies, chiefly elderly, of her persuasion. Aunt Gough knowing that letters had lately been received by us from you and your Sister Mary, was very particular in her enquiries about you all, Colonel Hervey, etc., etc. I mentioned your introduction to the royal family of France, the long trains bordered with silver and gold and other concomitant circumstances and my auditors were attentive and appeared pleased with my narrative. The Duke of Wellington is really a great man; your character of him is well drawn and perfectly impartial; for I am sure your love of truth is such that your predilection would not permit you to exaggerate his shining and uncommon qualities. His unaffected simplicity of manners, devoid of all art, united with the consciousness of genius and distinguished merit is a proof of the soundness of his understanding, which knows how to appreciate the applauses of an admiring world and not be elated by them. His affability is charming, for his attentions to my grand daughters, I feel most thankful: if an opportunity presents itself of expressing to him my thanks, let it not escape you. I was at Brooklandwood when your letters above mentioned were brought to us by Mr. Creighton; that of the 5th of March created conflicting

sensations of pleasure and pain; of *pleasure*, from Louisa having attracted and attached to her a man so universally esteemed and beloved as Colonel Hervey; *of pain* from the apprehension that I shall never again see her. Military men are not masters of time and circumstances; the Colonel promises to bring Louisa to see us in eighteen months; but many incidents may intervene to defeat his benevolent intention. Whether I shall be made happy by once more seeing my dear Louisa, or shall be disappointed in my anxious expectation of this meeting, I congratulate her on her marriage; they have my sincere wishes for their happiness; the amiable character of Colonel Hervey is the surest pledge of this happiness and its duration, and I trust the conduct of his wife will be such as to merit and confirm the esteem and attachment of her husband. Piety is the only solid foundation of happiness even in this life; Louisa was, and I hope is still pious; let her strive to continue so; let her not depart from that religion in which she has been brought up; its principles, and its practices will enable her to discharge the duties of the married state, to combat and overcome the temptations to which a life of, perhaps, too much dissipation will be liable; a perpetual round of company, cards, concerts, balls, plays and operas are all incompatible with the spirit and letter of the Gospel; a mind distracted and engrossed by such frivolities cannot think seriously of heaven, or fulfil those duties which only can merit Heaven.

From the extract I have read of Madame de Stael's work on German literature, I have formed the same opinion which you say the Duke entertains of that

celebrated lady. Her thoughts are seldom profound, frequently frivolous, sometimes incorrect and generally far fetched, affected and drowned under a redundancy of words, which obscure her meaning; she does not possess the talent essential to all good writing, the art of concealing art.

Your Uncle Charles has written a letter, to which of you I do not remember; your parents have recently written to all of you—General Reubel and family sailed a few days since for Liverpool; you will probably see them in London, when the General will thank Mrs. Patterson for the obligation he owes her, and for the service she has been instrumental in rendering him. The *Allum* process goes on well; your father is more confident than ever of finding coal at Cape Sable, or at the Bodkin; he has a miner, said to be skilful in the business now boring for coal. When the sales of *allum* (to be first applied to the reimbursement of expenses incurred in erecting the works) and his income from Brooklandwood (much improved since your departure) and from other sources will enable him to sink a shaft, you may expect to be enriched by coal. Your return is now postponed to October and may be prolonged to the ensuing spring, if an event to you, similar to Louisa's, should happen. I have seen and conversed with Mr. Mercer; he speaks handsomely, I believe in all companies, of the three fine sisters. On his saying to you that he expected you and Louisa would remain in England, you replied nothing would induce you to forsake your parents and dear relatives in Maryland: did you make such a declaration? If you did, I am sure you then thought so; but are you now as sure of adhering to it? I suspect

from a passage in Robert's letter to his father, he at least had his doubts on this point. Whatever may be your decision, my dearest Betsy, God grant it may eventuate in your lasting happiness, and that your choice may be directed as much by reflection and prudence, as by love. Let not a romantic fancy influence too much this most important crisis of your life; you have an excellent understanding and a good heart; the wanderings of the imagination, a softer word, substituted for passion, sometimes, in females particularly of great sensibility, overcome the strongest judgment, and reason and reflection for a time are lulled to sleep:

Your letters, my dear child, were they ever so long, would never appear long to me.

Give my love to your sisters, and assure Robert of my affection and esteem. Do not omit to present my respects to Colonel Hervey, and remind him of his promise to bring Louisa to Maryland in eighteen months, if this be practicable. If the voyage be much longer delayed, I may be gone to that distant and unexplored region from which no traveller returns to give us an account of it. God bless and preserve and guide all your ways, my dearest Betty; this is the daily prayer of your aged and very affectionate

Grandfather

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

P.S. Mrs. Shaw sends her love to you and your sisters; for all domestic occurrences, I refer you to your Mama's letter; all your acquaintances in this place desire to be remembered to you and your sisters, and congratulate Louisa on her marriage; and they are all

pleased with the unexampled attention and civilities you have received. Among your acquaintances it is proper to mention Mrs. Steele now living in Annapolis, and the wife of Daniel Murray now on a visit to his parents, who feel an interest in your welfare.[1]

The marriage of Louisa Caton and Colonel Sir Bathurst Hervey was celebrated in the April of this same year, from Apsley House, the London residence of the Duke of Wellington, who "gave the bride away." The following account of the wedding appeared in *The Morning Post*, the court chronicle of London:

Document VII.

MARRIAGE IN HIGH LIFE.

Yesterday, by special licence, at nine o'clock in the evening, by the Reverend Doctor Goodall, Provost of Eton, at the house of his Grace, the Duke of Wellington, Colonel Hervey, Aide de Camp to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and eldest son of the late Felton Lionel Hervey, Esq., to Louisa Catharine, third daughter of Richard Caton, Esq. of Maryland, in the United States of America. The bride was given away by his Grace the Duke of Wellington; and immediately after the ceremony the bride and bridegroom set off for Englefield Green, near Windsor, the seat of Mrs. Fremantle. The following persons were present on this occasion:—

The Duke and Duchess of Wellington and the officers

[1] Family Papers of Mr. Charles Carroll Mactavish.

of the Duke's staff, Lord George Lenox, Lord John Russell, Lord Arthur Hill, Colonel Percy, Sir John Campbell, Colonel Fremantle, the Spanish Ambassador, the American Minister, Earl Bathurst, Earl of Westmoreland and Lady Georgiana Fane, Mr. and Mrs. Patterson and Miss Caton, Hon. Charles Percy, Sir Charles and Lady Knightly, Mr. and Mrs. Fremantle and Miss Hervey, Mr. and Mrs. Hervey Bathurst, Mr. and Miss Cope, etc., etc.

The ceremony had been privately performed, according to the rites of the Roman Church, at the Bavarian Ambassador's Chapel, in Warwick Street, whither the Duke of Wellington repaired with the happy couple, from Thomas' Hotel, in Berkeley Square.[2]

Letter LXII.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO MRS. CATON.

Doughoregan

My dear Mary,

I thank you for your letter of yesterday, it gave me interesting particulars, especially relating to General Scott, whom I esteem, and am pleased that the executive feels his value and has rewarded so meritorious an Officer.

Doctor Tucker was too ill to set off last night; Doctor Thomas, who visited him this morning, advises him not to leave the Manor till he is convalescent. It would be improper for me to leave the Manor, while Doctor Tucker continues ill, my carriage and horses must take the Doctor, his wife, and nurse to Baltimore: this com-

[2] Morning Post, April 25, 1817.

bination of circumstances will, I fear, prevent my visiting Brooklandwood as I intended. I saw Elizabeth this morning in Mary Carroll's chamber; she is much more composed. The doctor and Elizabeth attended the funeral of their Infant; and both were greatly affected; the coffin was open and they kissed their child several times before it was put into the ground; the Reverend Mr. Wheeler performed the funeral service, and gave us a very appropriate discourse. He returned to Baltimore at six o'clock this morning: Mrs. Carroll (the widow), Nancy Chase, desire to be remembered to you most affectionately. Elizabeth Tucker is much better and I hope has got rid of her chills and fever.

I am, as you left me; Emily has recovered from the fatigue of preparing for my birthday. The rest of the family are well: Emily Harper and Miss Chatard return to Baltimore to-morrow evening.

We are much in want of rain; the sky is covered with heavy clouds denoting rain, but I fear we shall again be disappointed as we have often been.

What time in next month will you go to town to prepare for Emily's reception? you did mention the day, but I have forgotten it.

The first number of the Carrolltonian was published on the 20th. It praises me too much, I am too deeply impressed with the knowledge of my defects to be elated by the praises bestowed on me in the public prints and funeral eulogies; God only knows the heart of man and if he is deserving of praise; whoever is unworthy in his sight, must be mortified by praises, which, conscience says, are not merited.

Remember me affectionately to Mr. Caton. God

bless you my dear child, I really miss you; take care of your health; I have met with severe trials, but were I to lose you, it would be the severest of all I have felt.

Your affectionate Father

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[3]

[3] Family Papers of Mr. Charles Carroll Mactavish.

CHAPTER XVI.

MR. CARROLL AND THE MARCHIONESS OF WELLESLEY (1826–30).

Mrs. Patterson, the eldest of the "American Graces," and generally deemed, it is said, the most beautiful of the handsome trio, had been left a widow, and now in the spring of 1825 she was engaged to Richard Colley, Marquis of Wellesley, the eldest son of the Earl of Mornington. Lord Wellesley had held many of the highest and most important government positions in England. The office of Foreign Secretary he had resigned some years before in consequence of the refusal of his colleagues to support the Catholic claims. Lord Wellesley was also Governor-General of India and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. It was while in the latter office that he met with the attractive American widow and her sisters at the house of his brother, the Duke of Wellington. Charles Carroll of Carrollton in a letter from Lord Wellesley, inviting the Maryland patriot to visit him in Ireland, returned the following answer:

Letter LXIII.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO THE MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY.

Baltimore, 9. Febry. 1826.

My dear Marquis,

On the 7th instant I was honoured and highly gratified by your affectionate letter of the 20th December.

You have truly appreciated the merits of my grand daughter and have ascribed to her the qualities which form her character and will constitute your and her happiness; a religious sense of her dependence on God and the fulfilments of an affectionate tender and beloved wife will continue to guide her conduct through life, and endear her to you the more you know her and the longer you live together. The sweetness and evenness of her temper, her discretion and discernment peculiarly fit her to the exalted station in which your judgement and attachment has placed her, and will gain the affection of the Irish nation. Yet, after all, the best dispositions if not founded on the love of God, may vary; age and infirmities may sour the happiest temper, but on the Christian who looks to a glorious immortality as the reward of life conformable to the doctrines and moral precepts of religion, disease and disappointments, and even the contempt of the world will make little or no impression; for indeed, my dear Sir, how insignificant are rank, titles, genius itself, terminating in the grave, compared to an eternity of bliss?

The partiality of the Marchioness has, I perceive, impressed you with a favourable opinion of my character; I wish I was really deserving of it, and of your esteem; from all accounts of your character, there is no one whose esteem I more covet and would endeavour to gain.

My advanced age prevents me from crossing the Sea and personally cultivating your friendship, and once more embracing my beloved grand daughters; my stay here must be short. The hope of seeing you and them on this side of the Atlantic, I would wish to cherish,

THE MARCHIONESS OF WELLESLLY.
Grand-daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.
After the Portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

but cannot; your talents so important and necessary to your King and country cannot, I fear, be dispensed with, even for a short period: Be this as it may, my esteem for you and sincere wishes for your health and happiness will continue through life. I remain with the greatest esteem,

My dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[1]

The marriage of Lord Wellesley to Mrs. Patterson was solemnized with great splendor at the Vice-regal Lodge, in Phœnix Park, the official residence of the Lord-Lieutenant. The marriage was celebrated according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, of which Mrs. Patterson was a member, as well as according to those of the Church of England. An interesting account of the arrangements and ceremonies of the wedding were published in the *Freeman's Journal*, the semi-official organ of Dublin.

DOCUMENT VIII.

THE LORD-LIEUTENANT.

On Saturday his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant removed from Malahide Castle to his permanent residence at the Vice-Regal Lodge, Phenix Park. The day for the celebration of his Excellency's approaching nuptials, which have excited so much interest amongst all classes in Dublin, is not yet appointed, as it will depend upon the arrival of his Excellency's noble brother, the

[1] Family Papers of Mr. Charles Carroll Mactavish.

Duke of Wellington and Lord Marlborough, who are expected about Wednesday; but at all events it is understood that the ceremony will not be deferred beyond Saturday next.

A King's messenger arrived at Malahide Castle on Wednesday last, bearing an *autograph* letter addressed by His Majesty to the Lord Lieutenant, highly complimentary to his Excellency on the approaching auspicious event.

Mrs. Patterson is of Irish descent. Her Grandfather, Mr. Carroll, resides in the city of Washington [Annapolis]. He filled at a remote period a high judicial office in Canada. Mrs. Patterson's maiden name was Caton. Her late husband was the *brother* of Mrs. Jerome Bonaparte.

In our paper of yesterday we stated that Mrs. Patterson had in *ready money*, one hundred and thirty thousand pounds. We have been since informed that we underrated the sum, and that *one hundred and eighty-six thousand pounds*, in 3, 1/2 per cents is nearer the truth. This lady, in addition to her property in the British funds, has claims upon the British and American Governments to an equal amount, besides considerable landed property in America. She is niece to the Catholic Bishop of Maryland, and is, herself, of course, a member of that communion. She will not be, however, the first Catholic consort of a Protestant Viceroy of Ireland. When the late Marquis of Buckingham administered the government of this country, the Marchioness, who was the only daughter and heiress of the great Earl of Clare, and a strict Catholic, went regularly to Mass. The apartments in the Vice-Regal Lodge,

in the Park, are undergoing considerable improvement and alterations. The Castle has been for some time under repair.[2]

Document IX.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARRIAGE OF CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON'S GRANDDAUGHTER TO THE MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY, LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

The Marriage of His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant with Mrs. Patterson took place at the Vice-Regal Lodge, in the Phenix Park, on Saturday Evening.

At three o'clock, two of the Lord Lieutenant's carriages, with a numerous retinue of servants in splendid liveries, arrived at Ryland's hotel in Sackville street, where Mrs. Patterson had been residing for the last three months. Immediately afterwards this distinguished lady, and her sister Miss Caton, accompanied by Mr. Johnstone and Colonel Shawe, entered one of the carriages and proceeded directly to the residence of the illustrious Viceroy in the Park. The other carriage followed with attendants.

A grand dinner was given, at a quarter past six, to a select party.

At eight o'clock precisely the marriage ceremony was performed by the Lord Primate, (Archbishop of Armagh). There was also a select evening party.

The Catholic Archbishop of Dublin (Most Rev. Doctor Murray) was honoured with an invitation to the dinner party. At eight o'clock, one of the carriages of

[2] The weekly Freeman's Journal, Dublin, Oct. 29, 1825.

the Lord Lieutenant waited on the Archbishop at his house in North Cumberland Street, from whence he proceeded without delay to the Park, accompanied by the Reverend D. Russell, Parish Priest of St. Paul's, and the Vicar-General of the Diocese, and the Reverend Mr. Glynne of Tiffey-street chapel, Vicar Apostolic. On the arrival of Dr. Murray, the Marquis Wellesley and Mrs. Patterson were again married by that Most Reverend Prelate, who appeared *in Pontificalibus*. The Archbishop and the Reverend Gentlemen who attended him afterwards remained some time, and partook of some refreshments with the distinguished guests of the Lord Lieutenant. They were then conveyed to their several residences in His Excellency's carriages.

No event has for a long time diffused so much satisfaction through the Metropolis as this union. The city is expected to be exceedingly gay during the winter in consequence of it.

There was no official report of the ceremony, as it was conducted as much with the forms of a private celebration, as was at all consistent with the elevated rank of the illustrious Marquis.[3]

The following additional particulars of the interesting ceremony at the Park, on Saturday Evening, are given in an evening paper:—

After dinner when Sir S. Bruce and the evening party had arrived, the company were shown into a small parlour adjoining His Excellency's study in the Park, and having then partaken of coffee, were ushered into the large room in which hangs his Majesty's portrait; on

[3] The weekly Freeman's Journal, Dublin, Nov. 5, 1825.

entering, they found a platform erected at the foot of the room, on which stood a temporary altar, and behind which was the Primate of all Ireland, attended by the Reverend Mr. Bishopp (one of His Excellency's Domestic Chaplains) who officiated as clerk; there were also two state chairs placed in appropriate positions in the room. The company to the number of about thirty, having arranged themselves, fifteen on each side of the platform, His Excellency entered the room with Mrs. Patterson leaning on his left arm; when they had walked up to the altar, the ceremony was *immediately* commenced by His Grace. After it was concluded not one word was said till their Excellencies made their obeisance to the company and retired. Very handsome favours were then distributed, and after a short pause it was intimated that their Excellencies did not intend returning. Upon this hint, his Grace, the Primate and most of the company retired; as they were passing out of the Park, they met one of His Excellency's private carriages driving rapidly towards the Lodge, in which was Dr. Murray, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. On his arrival, the ceremony was performed according to the rites of the Romish Church, in presence only of Mrs. Talbot, (the mother of our respected county member) Mr. and Mrs. Blake, Colonel Shawe and the two men Johnstone. The two great dignitaries of the two opposite churches were, by this arrangement, not at any one time under the same roof.

Mr. Blake, the chief Remembrancer, has ordered five hundred yards of silk, of the richest description to be manufactured in the Liberty, for hangings and furniture for his splendid mansion in Stephen's Green, prepara-

tory to a succession of grand entertainments which he purposes giving in consequence of the recent marriage.[4]

The year following the marriage of the Lord Lieutenant, was in honour of the "popular event," a season of particular festivity in Dublin. A grand ball was given at the Vice Regal Lodge, and Lord and Lady Wellesley received, seated on a throne and wearing crowns, with other insignia of their Royal state.

In allusion to the Vice-regal dignity of the Marchioness of Wellesley in Ireland, the famous toast was drunk at a banquet in South Carolina, when Bishop England proposed "Charles Carroll of Carrollton." "In the land from which his grandfather fled in terror, his granddaughter now reigns a Queen."[5]

The marriage of the Marquis of Wellesley with a Roman Catholic, it is to be supposed, pleased the majority of the Irish nation, and it is stated, "to have been considered a fact of happy import, when the Duke of Wellington's brother became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and brought over to Dublin a wife who went openly to Mass, to the horror of all loyal persons."[5] "It was during the vice royalty of Lord Wellesley, that Sir William Betham, then Ulster-King of Arms, devoted his attention to the elucidation of genealogical details in connection with the grand father of Lady Wellesley, with the result that the Marquis Wellesley obtained leave to quarter the O'Carroll arms in right of his wife Marianne, daughter of Richard Caton."[6]

Louisa, who married Sir Felton Bathurst Hervey,

[4] The weekly Freeman's Journal, Dublin, Nov. 5, 1825.
[5] Bird's-eye View of Irish History, by Sir C. G. Duffy.
[6] Journal Royal and Historical Association of Ireland.

Baronet, had, like her sister, been left a widow, and in the spring of 1828 she was to marry for the second time, the bridegroom-elect being Francis Osborne Godolphin d'Arcy, Marquis of Carmarthen, the eldest son of the Duke of Leeds, who, at his father's death, which occurred shortly afterwards, inherited the title of Duke, with the family estates. The marriage took place on the 24th of April, 1828, and the bride was given away by her brother-in-law, the Marquis of Wellesley. In a letter to Lady Wellesley, Charles Carroll of Carrollton expressed his pleasure at her sister's union: "The alliance is splendid," he wrote. At this time Lady Wellesley was painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence, and she sent the picture to her grandfather, who, in return, sent his granddaughter his own life-sized portrait painted by Sully. Another artist, a Mr. Harding, had also "drawn" Charles Carroll's picture, described by the Signer as "a most striking likeness of me in the ninety-first year of my life," and Charles Carroll gave a copy of this portrait to his granddaughter, Mrs. Emily Mactavish.

Letter LXIV.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO LADY WELLESLEY.

Doughoregan 10th January, 1828.

My dear Mary,

I congratulate you and our whole family on Louisa's marriage with Carmarthen.

The choice he has made is a proof of discernment in discovering in Louisa attractions to make him a happy husband.

I feel most grateful to Lord Wellesley in acting, as he has done, the part of a tender parent in bestowing Louisa's hand on the Marquis; this transaction displays the goodness of heart ever ready to oblige and befriend all who merit his esteem and confidence. What! are his important services to the State forgotten? They are not forgotten by the nation, but unrewarded by its head.

The Duke, you say, is doing everything wise and good for his country! I beg leave to differ with you; I cannot believe him to act wisely, who acts unjustly; to keep a large portion of the population of the empire in a state of distrust and degradation is a most singular aberration of mind in a man, who is not a religious bigot.

I never cross, my dear Mary, your portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence, without thinking it represents one I shall never again see; the same thought probably struck your mind in receiving mine by Sully, and drew tears from your eyes. The passage in your letter brought to my recollection the beautiful passage in the first book of the Æneid "*sunt lachrimæ rerum.*" Wellesley will explain it to you. You write Sully's portrait fails in the expression of my countenance, which, you fancy, spoke the idea of the mind before words gave it utterance; that look, which partial friends thought intelligent and expressive has lost whatever lustre it once might have had. A Mr. Harding has lately drawn my portrait, a most striking likeness of me in the ninety-first year of my life, the countenance with little meaning, the eyes dim and dull. I have given it to Emily

Mactavish, you may some time hence see it, and find my representation of the picture correct.

Betsy has mind, temper and good sense to make happy the man whom she may honour with her hand; the one I am sure she will not give without her heart; marriage after all is a lottery in which there are as many, if not more, blanks than prizes. My love to her and most anxious desires for her happiness.

God bless you my dear Mary, preserve your health and grant you happiness here and hereafter, and think of your affectionate grandfather,

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[7]

LETTER LXV.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Baltimore 16 March, 1830.

I received yesterday, my dear Mary, your affectionate and interesting letter of the 4th of January; you are seldom out of my thoughts, and I am deeply interested in your happiness; figure, then, to yourself how much I was affected by the account you have given me of the love and tenderness of your husband, so estimable and so loved and esteemed by you. Brilliant as is your situation, without that mutual esteem and affection, it would soon become an irksome load. The homage and deference paid to rank, not founded on the merits and esteem of the person to whom it is paid, and all the frippery and parade of life, never did, nor never will reach and satisfy the heart; nothing but the love of God and the consciousness of deserving the love and Esteem of

[7] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

your Husband can reach and content a heart such as yours.

To see you once more, is my earnest desire, but I dare not flatter myself, that it will be gratified; when so many things contribute to our happiness, that privation, great as it is, ought to be borne with resignation; insurmountable evils are much lighter by patience.

I am sure, as you observe, my admiration of the Marquis would be increased by a personal acquaintance with him, but much as that would be increased, I fear I should sink in his estimation, derived from your too partial account of my character.

Betsey's letters of the 10th September and 21st October I answered. I answered on the 9th of last month the Marquis's letter of 20th December.

I sincerely rejoice at the recovery of the Duke of Wellington's health; that a life so valuable to his Country may be long preserved is my sincere wish. Should you write to him, say how grateful I am for his kindness to you and your sisters; my love to them; their parting from you will be painful to them and to you. There is a mixture of good and evil in this world, which all must experience, wisely ordained to wean our affections from it. You will be informed by Mr. Mactavish that your suit against Joseph Patterson is amicably settled on terms, I understand, equitable to both.

I beg you to present to the Marquis my thanks for his letter, and my sincerest wishes for his health and happiness.[8]

Charles Carroll of Carrollton gave Sir Thomas Law-

[8] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

rence's portrait of the Marchioness of Wellesley to her sister, Mrs. Emily Mactavish, who, at the death of Lady Wellesley, likewise inherited Charles Carroll's own picture by Sully, together with a portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence of Lady Wellesley's brother-in-law, the Duke of Wellington. The gold crown and jewelled robes worn as Lady-Lieutenant were sent to the same sister, and the crown, it is said, was presented by the latter to a Jesuit church in Maryland. Other heirlooms of her life abroad, given by Lady Wellesley to Mrs. Mactavish, comprised the camp bedstead of the Duke of Wellington on which the "Iron Duke" slept on the field of Waterloo, and a portrait ring of George IV. presented by that sovereign to Lord Wellesley during the latter's tenure of the Viceroyalty in Ireland.

Elizabeth, the second of the "Graces," married, in the May of 1836, Baron Stafford of Costessy Hall, near Norwich. Glimpses of the gayeties of Mr. Carroll's granddaughters abroad come to us through the fashionable chronicles of the day.

"The Marchioness of Wellesley," says the *Freeman's Journal*, "and Miss Caton from Lord Manners' Seat, the Grove, Oxford, Suffolk, arrived on a visit to the Duke of Devonshire at Chatworth."[9] And the same paper mentions Lady Wellesley and Miss Caton "making a tour of the watering places in Scotland." And "her ladyship will pay a visit to their Majesties at Windsor Palace—prior to her departure for Ireland."[10]

The laying of the corner-stone of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, one of the greatest enterprises ever un-

[9] Freeman's Journal, Aug. 6, 1833.
[10] Ibid., Oct. 10, 1833.

dertaken in Maryland, occurred on the 4th of July, 1822, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who was a member of the first board of directors, presided, wearing the badge of the occasion. To his granddaughter, Elizabeth Caton, he expressed his deep sympathy with, and appreciation of, this " magnificent enterprise."

Letter LXVI.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO LADY STAFFORD.

Baltimore 26th. Feb. 1828.

I lately received, my dear Betsy, your letter of the 14th of November.

The public prints will inform you what rapid improvements are going on in Pennsylvania, Jersey, New York and the New England States. Baltimore is not behind any of them, the railroad to the Ohio is an arduous and magnificent enterprise; this great work, it is expected, will be completed in the course of six years and for six millions of dollars. Whether the State will take the shares allotted to it, is doubtful; we may perhaps hear to day its decision; should it become stockholder, it will contribute much to its success by creating a general confidence in the undertaking. Before I close this letter, I will let you know the result of the Legislature's debates on this important question.

You observe this country is likely to become at no distant period, populous, flourishing and powerful; how long it will continue so, depends on the adherence to the principles which laid the foundation of its growing prosperity; the confederation of these States, sovereign and independant within the powers not dele-

gated to the general confederacy, their incorporation with that supervising and controlling government, also sovereign and independant as to the powers devolved on it by the confederacy, is a curious and complicated piece of mechanism of which the world has had no example; time will discover how long it will go on without derangement.

29th. Feb.

The house of Delegates has passed by a great majority the bill for taking this year one half of the shares allotted to the State, and next year the remaining shares. The bill will certainly pass the Senate. We have no doubt, in fifty years from the completion of the railroad, Baltimore will be one of the largest and most commercial cities in the United States. When you receive this letter, Louisa will be in London; to her communicate this letter with my love.

God bless you, my dear Betsy; I wish you health and happiness and a good husband, if marriage will contribute to both.

Your affectionate grandfather,

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[11]

When George IV. died, the coronation of "William and Adelaide" took place on the 8th of September, 1831, and the opening of the new reign was made memorable for Charles Carrollton of Carrollton by the appointment of his granddaughter, Lady Wellesley, to the position of first lady-in-waiting to the Queen.

[11] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

Letter LXVII.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO LADY WELLESLEY.

Doughoregan Manor September 12, 1830.

My dear Grand Daughter,

I have received your letter from Harrowgate announcing the distinguished mark of Royal favour which the Queen has conferred on you.

I appreciate your elevation, but I appreciate infinitely more, her Majesty's conveying through His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, the favourable expression of Her Majesty's regard and respect for you. I love and Honour Queen Adelaide for this flattering manifestation of esteem towards my dear Grandchild; and in offering you my heartfelt congratulations on the event, I fervently pray that God may sustain you in your new career, and so enable you to discharge its duties, that the approbation of your sovereign here, may render you more worthy hereafter in the eyes of the Almighty sovereign of the universe. As the pageant of the approaching Coronation must necessarily subject you to considerable expense, I send herewith an Order for ten thousand dollars; a present, my dear GrandDaughter, from your affectionate grandfather

[Signed] Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

P.S. My eyesight of late has become so much impaired, that I am incapable of writing with the same facility as formerly; not a very surprising circumstance at 94 years of age. I dictate this letter to your sister Emily Mactavish who officiates as my Amanuensis—

God bless you; my kind love to your sisters and affectionate remembrance to Marquis Wellesley.

. . . . . .

Flora was lately sent to the Manor; while in this City she had a litter of beautiful puppies; she looks very old, as well as her present aged master. God bless you, my dear Mary.

I remain your affectionate grandfather,

[Signed] CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[12]

After the death of her husband, Lady Wellesley resigned her position at court held for some years, and apartments were placed at the disposal of her retired maid-of-honor by Queen Adelaide in the historic court of Hampton, near Richmond on the Thames. Here in the old palace, whose walls had looked on much of the drama, and some of the tragedy of England's history, Lady Wellesley was the first of her sisters to pass away, her death occurring on the 17th of December, 1853, after an illness of only a few days' duration. The *Gentleman's Magazine* published an account of the obsequies of the Marchioness of Wellesley, which took place at Costessy Hall, the country-seat of her brother-in-law, Baron Stafford.

DOCUMENT X.

THE MARCHIONESS WELLESLEY.

Dec. 17 (1853). At her apartments in the Palace of Hampton Court, after a short illness, the most Hon: Marianne, Marchioness Wellesley.

[12] Family Papers of Mrs. Carroll Mactavish.

Her Ladyship was the eldest daughter of Richard Caton, Esq. of Maryland, in the United States of America, and sister to the Duchess of Leeds and the dowager Lady Stafford.

. . . . . .

In 1830 her ladyship was appointed a Lady of the Bedchamber to her Majesty Queen Adelaide, which office she retained for several years.

Her Ladyship's remains were conveyed on Friday Dec. 23, for interment to Costessy, near Norwich, the seat of Lord Stafford. They were received at the chapel and conducted to a space before the altar, where, after the chaunting of the Miserere Psalm and the prescribed prayers, they were deposited for the night. The funeral obsequies began at half past eight on Saturday morning. The service consisted of the office for the dead, the Mass of Requiem, with solemn music, and the final absolution or Burial Service, which was performed by the Very Reverend Dr. Husenbeth, many years Chaplain to the noble family at Costessy Hall. The funeral was attended by Lord Stafford, Alexander Mactavish, Alfred Montgomery, John Y. Down, Esqs., and the Reverend Dr. Smith. There were also present Her Grace, the Duchess of Leeds, and the Dowager Lady Stafford, sisters of the departed. The funeral being private, the attendance of several noble relatives was respectfully declined. In accordance with the good old charitable practice, a dole of bread was given to the poor of Costessy on the occasion of the funeral.[13]

[13] The Gentleman's Magazine of February, 1854, p. 188.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE END (1830–32).

EMILY, the youngest of the Caton sisters, had remained in Maryland. Her early life was passed with her grandfather at Doughoregan manor, and she became, as he expressed it, his "Amanuensis," writing his letters when the Signer's sight had failed from age. Emily Caton married John Lovat Mactavish [1] of Scotland, and the marriage took place at Doughoregan manor,[2] Charles Carroll of Carrollton giving the bride away. He bestowed "Carrollton," or Folly Hall, on Mrs. Mactavish at this time, though she continued to reside for some years longer with her husband at Doughoregan manor. To his "favourite grand daughter," Charles Carroll of Carrollton gave his handsome silver dress sword and much of the family silver, chiefly stamped with the earlier Carroll crest, a hawk with folded wings. At the time of the republic this was changed to "the hawk in flight," whose extended wings symbolized the breaking of the new States with the parent land.

[1] The name originally written Mac Tavish was anglicized to Mactavish.

[2] Baltimore City Records.

Letter LXVIII.

MR. ROBERT CAMPBELL TO CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

Augusta, 24 Novem. 1830.

Respected Friend,

Some years ago one of the Counties on the North Western frontiers of this State was named "*Carroll*" as an evidence of the respect in which your name was held in this Section of the Union. This county bordered upon the territory of the Cherokee Indians. In the recent acts of the State extending its laws over the Cherokees, though you cannot be uninformed of the tyrannical nature of these laws in their operation upon this people, nor of the violence which they do to the good faith of the United States as well as to the plainest principles of honesty and humanity, yet I presume you are not aware that a very large part of the territory thus unrighteously usurped, has been attached to the County of "*Carroll.*"

My present object is to inform you of this fact under the strong hope that the circumstances of the case will induce you to write to the Governor to be laid before the General Assembly now in Session requesting that your name may not be recorded in connection with a transaction so disgraceful and unprincipled.

The great bulk of the citizens, from the conduct pursued by the politicians and the press of the State, know less of the true state of this transaction than the people of almost any other State in the Union.

A letter from you, suited to the occasion and couched in appropriate terms, might have the effect of

saving the State from an indellible disgrace, and of preserving from annihilation a brave, a generous, once a powerful, tho' now, from their very generosity, and their confidence in the United States, a helpless people.

I pray you most earnestly to take this suggestion into your most serious consideration. Such an opportunity of using your name and influence in favour of humanity —in saving from a yoke of intollerable slavery and bondage, a people remarkable for their National and personal attachment to freedom and self-government, has not perhaps occurred to you since that memorable day on which you attached it to the Declaration of Independence.

RT. CAMPBELL.[3]

A movement was started in 1831, having for its object to give the ashes of the mother of George Washington the honor due the parent of the "Father of his Country," and it was natural that among the first to be appealed to should be found the name of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the admirer and friend of the first President of the young republic.

LETTER LXIX.

MR. BEALE WELLFORD AND OTHERS TO CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

Fredericksburg Va: Feby. 19. 1831.

To the Hon: Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.

Sir,

The object of this communication will, we trust, be a sufficient apology for addressing you without the honor

[3] Family Papers of Mr. Carroll Mactavish.

of a personal acquaintance, or the formality of an introduction; it has appealed so warmly to our own feelings that we are persuaded it must also enlist those of every American. Should we have deceived ourselves, we hope that you will pardon the liberty and at least concede your approbation of the motive.

It is a fact, of which perhaps you are not ignorant, that the remains of the mother of George Washington lie in a field in our immediate vicinity, without even a stone to designate the spot. Tradition is already our only guide to her cemetery, and as the field is used for agricultural purposes, the period cannot be far distant, when that will become too vague to be entitled to confidence. Such is already the fate of the ashes of his father. His contemporaries have passed away and none remain, who can point out his burial place. But the mother of General Washington was his guide, philosopher, and friend, and if the present opportunity is lost, succeeding ages must forever deplore the sordid ingratitude which consigned to oblivion without one redeeming effort, the remains of her who gave to her country "an hero without ambition, a patriot without reproach," who was an architect of a character which not only shed unfading lustre on his own country, but elevates even our conceptions of the dignity of man.

The undersigned are at present, acting as agents of subscribers for the erection of a new house of worship in this place. It has been suggested that no place of deposite for the remains of this venerable matron could be selected at once so appropriate and so permanent as within its walls. Our funds are barely adequate for the purpose of our trust, but we cannot permit ourselves to

believe that the public will refuse their aid to so holy a work, as the addition of a monument to the memory of Mrs. Washington. We are unwilling however to come before the public as suppliants, even in such a cause as this, without a fair prospect of success, and we have therefore presumed to ask your counsel and aid in bringing this matter forward in a manner acceptable to those within the sphere of your influence. We shall be satisfied to obtain a sum sufficient to erect a monument in architectural unity with our building, which will be neat and substantial. Should we be more successful than we at present anticipate, we design to render the monument more worthy of her whom it is intended to commemorate, and the building worthy of the monument; but should the contributions be more than sufficient for this purpose, they will be appropriated to an object which would more honorably perpetuate her memory than "storied urn or animated bust" viz: the endowment of a Washington Female Orphan Asylum—an institution which would cause many yet unborn to bless the memory of a matron whose power to confer benefits on her fellow creatures did not cease even with her life. We mention this merely as a contingency, but as one which may possibly occur and as we have ventured to offer you the above statement, we wished frankly to put you in possession of all our views, that you might be advised how the funds would be disposed of if they exceeded the sum requisite for the object immediately in view.

May we now presume respectfully to solicit your aid in this matter? If we should be so fortunate as to obtain for it your countenance and influence, we will as

soon as your reply is received, forward a copy of our application to the people of the United States with the correspondence between Mr. Custis of Arlington, who is associated with us, and Mr. Gordon, the proprietor of the farm on which the relics now rest, and rely on you to adopt such measures in your vicinity as you may deem most likely to be successful. We do not however wish to impose on the liberality of any individual—a small sum, say 5 or 10—we should esteem an ample subscription—either more or less would be received with gratitude.

We have the honor to be, Sir,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient Servants.

JOHN S. WELLFORD
THOMAS SEDDON
JAMES VASS
BEALE WELLFORD
ALLEN W. MORTON
WILLIAM I. ROBERTS
CHARLES C. WELLFORD
BENJAMIN N. BARNETT

Signed on behalf of the Committee by BEALE WELLFORD.

Please address your reply to JOHN S. WELLFORD Fredericksburg Virginia.[4]

[4] Family Papers of Mr. Carroll Mactavish.

Letter LXX.

THE COMMITTEE FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY TO CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

Annapolis, February 10, 1832.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Esq.

Sir,

The undersigned joint Committee appointed by the two Houses of the General Assembly of Maryland, to make arrangements for the Celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the birth of Washington, respectfully request your attendance at Annapolis on that occasion.

Permit us on behalf of those we represent, to assure you, the presence on that occasion, of one whom our Country reveres, as the last Survivor of that illustrious band who enrolled us among the Nations of the earth, and whom, his own native Maryland, upon whom he had conferred so many benefits by services both in the National and State Councils, so justly takes pride in, would revive many cheering recollections and afford inexpressible gratification.

We are Respectfully,

Your most obedient Servants,

P. Laurenson	Thomas Sappington
Littleton Dennis Teackle	Thomas Emory
Richard Wtt. Carmichael	William T. Wootton
B. J. Heard	
R. W. Kent	John G. Chapman
	Henry Page.[5]

[5] Family Papers of Mr. Carroll Mactavish.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last Signer of the "illustrious band," lived to see his children's children to the third generation. His son, Charles Carroll of Homewood, died in the spring of 1825; the latter's son, Charles Carroll of Doughoregan, became next heir in line to Doughoregan Manor. Charles Carroll, the son of Charles Carroll of Doughoregan was already living[6] and was to marry in coming years Caroline Thompson of Virginia. As was said, he inherited Doughoregan Manor, but sold it, when the estate passed into the possesion of his brother, John Lee Carroll, who became distinguished as a member of the Maryland Senate and the Governor of that State.

John Lee Carroll, Esq., married Anita, daughter of Royal Phelps, Esq., a banker of New York, and secondly, Carter Thompson, a sister of the wife of his brother Charles.

A letter written to Mrs. Caton by the Marquis of Wellesley many years after the death of the Signer, and when the daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, then advanced in years, was threatened with blindness, congratulates her with old-world courtesy on the courage evinced under a painful operation of the eyes. And it urged the entering in the diplomatic service of her grandson, Charles Carroll Mactavish, Esq., who was educated in England under the care of his aunt, Lady Wellesley. Owing, it seems, to the persuasion of Lord Wellesley, the eldest son of John and Emily Caton Mactavish became for some years a member of the British embassy at Constantinople, where the Duke of

[6] In this generation the surname "Doughoregan" appears to have been dropped.

Wellington's brother was at the time ambassador to Turkey. After some years spent abroad in the diplomatic service, Charles Carroll Mactavish, Esq., returned to Maryland, where he married Marcella, the youngest daughter of Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott.

Letter LXXI.

THE MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY TO MRS. CATON.

Hurlingham House. June 29 1850.

My dear Mrs. Caton

My long silence would scarcely be pardonable, even if your quality of mercy were exercised with as much indulgence as Mulgnane and O'Connell use, in dispensing the Queen's perogative in Ireland to Rogers and Rapporees. I can, however, truly plead that I have never ceased to take the deepest and most affectionate interest in your welfare, and I have heard with the greatest pleasure that your health, and spirits and your excellent understanding continue in full activity and vigour, although your sight has not been so perfectly restored, as you were entitled to expect from the resolution and fortitude with which you endured a painful and dangerous operation. Poor Lord Westmoreland (although once Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and long a Cabinet Minister) was deficient in your strength of mind; and, in consequence, of his irresolution, has totally lost his sight, which loss he bears as ill and impatiently as he bore the operation; what a contrast between the British statesman and a noble-minded American lady!

But I am deviating from the object of this letter which is to give you my honest opinion and desire respecting the destination of Carroll Mactavish, your amiable and excellent grandson. He has resided for some time in Paris; and I, who quite prided myself on my knowledge of the French language, quite envy him his accent.

. . . . . .

After pure consideration, I am satisfied that the Diplomatic profession is the career in which he would be most likely to succeed, and to be happy; and Mr. Stevons himself may greatly assist in his advancement. I also can aid him in preparation for that profession. If I have advised him, merely with a view to his intended profession, I should have recommended him to remain here, until Mr. Stevons could place him in an official station; but his own desire to visit his parents and my sense of the propriety of such a visit, incline me to approve his present intention of going to America. I earnestly advise that he should not be detained there more than a month, as I am satisfied his general advancement depends, in a great degree, on his early return to England. While he is in England my house will be his home. My affection and interest for him will, I trust, be my excuse in your judgment for the freedom with which I have given my opinion, which perhaps ought to have been left to the free exercise of your superior knowledge and great powers of mind. On the subject of American affairs and pursuits, I can not pretend to much information; and I am not so vain, as to imagine that if your view of this subject should be

different from mine, I can have formed a correct opinion.

Ever Dear Mrs. Caton, with true respect and esteem,
Yours most faithfully and affectionately,
WELLESLEY.

As Lady Wellesley writes to you, I only say that I think she is in much better health than she enjoyed for some time past. W.

In the autumn of 1832, Charles Carroll of Carrollton was seized with the illness which in a few months proved fatal. But now he rallied, and hopes were entertained that years full and honor-laden were still to be added to. To his daughter, Mrs. Caton, Mr. Wharton of Philadelphia addressed a letter of congratulation on what appeared the restoration to health of her distinguished parent.

LETTER LXXII.

MR. WHARTON TO MRS. CATON.

Washington, 30th. Octr. 1832.

My dear Madam,

Your favour of the 27th. instant has just come to hand, and besides the pleasure which a letter from you always affords me, it communicated the additional satisfaction of learning that your dear and venerable Father has recovered and (for so I conclude,) is now in snug winter quarters, in your city.

I can readily conceive, dear Madam, what your feelings must have been at his late illness. To behold, such a Father as yours, one with whom you had lived so long, and who on so many accounts must be dear to you,—

sinking in the arms of death, must, indeed, have been a source of the most poignant anguish, and called forth feelings which I am sure no language can describe. Thank God! that for this time you have been spared the affliction of his death; but after all, Madam, it must come sooner or later,—and hence we should endeavour to prepare our minds for an event, which according to God's Providence, must happen. Almighty God has been to you, and your family, exceedingly kind, in showering down upon you the superabundance of the goods of this life; and in granting to your dear Father a length of days which he accords to only few of the children of Adam.

. . . . . .

While therefore I honour you for honouring your Parent—while I esteem you for loving him, who, under God, is the cause of your existence, and while I am very far from condemning those feelings which his late illness so very naturally called forth, yet, it will be very well for you, gradually, to accustom your mind to the consideration, that in a very short time, *he* must leave *you*. . . . But doing this, you will be better prepared to meet the shock of his departure.

. . . . . .

For you then, dear Madam, who have lived to see your venerable father snatched from the jaws of death, enjoy all the comfort which this dispensation of Divine Providence is calculated to afford; and while you return your grateful thanks to him for so signal a benefit, still bear in mind, that you may soon be called upon to mourn the death of that venerable Father, whose recovery has been to you a source of so much joy. For, Madam, he

is become very old; and it seems to us that it is nearly time for him to take possession of that happiness which awaits the just and faithful man. Do you, who are placed in an exalted station, edify all by the firmness of your faith, and the piety of your life. Do you, who are a daughter to the best of Parents, love him in life, and be resigned to God's will when He calls him hence. Do you, who in common with your ancestor, belong to that Church which is supported by the arm of omnipotence, and cemented with the blood of Martyrs always remember that your first obligations, your first duties, your first allegiance are to God. Pardon me, dear Madam, for writing you thus freely, and pardon me the rather, because you are in great measure the cause of it. For, at a time when I wanted a friend, you were that friend. And although my advice is offered with much freedom, still I hope that the offering will not be rejected, since it is made in the spirit of the most profound respect and sincere regard. Present me in the most respectful and affectionate terms to your venerable Father—and to your whole family, as well as to Mrs. Harper.

Adieu, Dear Madam; and that Heaven may bless you and yours, is the sincere prayer of your friend and most obedient servant,

CHARLES H. W. WHARTON.

P.S. Some years ago your father was kind enough to promise me a medal of his likeness. Permit me to ask you to remind him of his promise; for I confess, I should like to have this testimonial of his regard for me.

The devout hopes entertained for the permanent

recovery of the aged Signer were not to be fulfilled, and a few days from the reception of Mr. Wharton's letter Charles Carroll of Carrollton relapsed into his previous illness. The end came about midnight of the 14th of November, 1832. The last hours of the Signer are described by an eye-witness "a picture never to be forgotten."

Surrounded by some of his family and the family slaves, Charles Carroll received the last rites of the Catholic Church from the president of St. Mary's College, the ground for which he had himself bestowed in years gone by; then he who had lived his life a hero and a patriot met his death, "a philosopher and a Christian." The funeral of Charles Carroll of Carrollton took place from the Catholic cathedral of Baltimore, and the interment in the chapel of Doughoregan Manor. Here at the right of the ancient altar stands the monument marking the spot where the ashes of the Maryland Signer lie among the generations of his family. Two genii with inverted torches keep watch. Below are seen the scroll and pen and the field of stars symbolic of the Independence. Above, there stands the cross, the emblem of his faith, and the inscription simply reads:

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON,
Born September 19th, 1737
Died November 14th, 1832.

APPENDIX.

Document.

A DEED FROM JOHN GITTINGS, ESQ., OF MARYLAND TO CHARLES CARROLL OF DOUGHOREGAN IN THE YEAR 1753.

Know all men by these presents that I John Gittings of Prince George's County for and in Consideration of the Quantity of Seven thousand and two pounds of Tobacco to me in hand paid by Charles Carroll Esq. have given granted, Bargained and sold and by these presents do give, grant, Bargain and sell unto the said Charles Carroll one Negro man named Frank, and one negro man named Prince. To have and to hold the aforesaid Bargained Negroes unto the said Charles Carroll his Heirs and Assigns for ever; And I the said John Gittings do hereby bind myself, my Heirs, Executors, and Administrators to warrant and for ever defend the said Negroes unto the said Charles Carroll his Heirs and Assigns for ever from and against all persons Whatsoever. Provided that in case the said John Gittings his Heirs, Executors or Administrators shall well and truly pay unto the said Charles Carroll his Heirs, Executors, Administrators or Assigns the full and just quantity of

Seven thousand and two pounds of Crop Tobacco at the Town of Upper Marlborough at or before the Tenth day of June next with legal Interest for the same, THAT then the above Bill of Sale to be void and of no effect, AND I the said John Gittings do hereby bind myself, my Heirs, Executors and Administrators to pay the aforesaid Quantity of Seven thousand and two pounds of Tobacco with Interest as aforesaid unto the said Charles Carroll his Heirs or Assigns firmly by these, . . .
Sealed with my Seal and dated this Sixth day of September In the year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and fifty three.
Signed, Sealed and delivered JOHN GITTINGS.
In the presence of
GEO. CLARKE
&
Wm. TURNr. WOOTTON

Prince George's County Sst.

On the Seventh day of September One thousand Seven hundred and fifty three John Gittings acknowledged the within Instrument to be his Act and Deed and the Negroes therein mentioned to be the Right of Charles Carroll Esqr. according to the true Intent and meaning of the within Deed and the Act of Assembly in that case made and provided.

Before Robt. TAYLOR.[1]

[1] Family Papers of Mr. Carroll Mactavish.

Letter I.

CHARLES CARROLL TO HIS SONS, CHARLES CARROLL OF DOUGHOREGAN AND DANIEL.

Maryland July 7th: 1719.

Sons Charles and Daniel

I suppose you have before this Time, had the afflicting news of your Brothers death, within about Six days Saile of the Capes of Virginia as he was Coming in, it was upon the 10th: day of Aprill last, I hope you both know your duty, upon so Lamentable an occasion, the most that you and I or any other of his Relations and friends can doe for him now, is to pray for the repose of his Soul, wherein I disire you will not be defficient nor in minding the Sodallity whereof he was a member of what is usuall to be done on such occasions. . . .

I have desired Mr: Kennett to remitt your Rector, Ten pounds to be by him Imployed after the best manner that Such an occation requires. . . .

Pray give my kind respects to the Rector and the rest of the good family there, and acquaint him that I continue to you and your brother your usuall allowance besides defraying any necessarys or Journeys or otherwise and the same Shall be remitted him as your pensions are. I do design provided, I hear you do well, that you shall not be behind hand in my Esteem, with your Brother and therefore desire you will Vigorously prepare for the defence of your Universall Philossophy, if the Rector and your Professor approves thereof, who shall be furnished wth: the necessary Expense, but if they do not think, that you can go Through it with ap-

plause, it is better lett alone, for a dunce in a pulpit makes but a very aukard appearance. . . .

I am afraid your Brothers, Theses are miscarried for those of his last defence are not come to my hands yett . . . Therefore desire you will take much the same Steps your brother did, esspecially in your dedecation to me *Mutatis Mutandis* So that it appear not to be the Same with the other. . . . . .

Your Mother designs next Spring to go with your two sisters either to Graveling or Dunkirt, when She is there I doubt not, but a good nature and affection She has for her Children will Induce her to See you and your brother, but I Should think it more Convenient and less fatieuging to her; that upon her giving you Notice of her arrivall—and appointing you a time to meet her at Saint Omers you would do so if it Should not prove an Interruption to your preperation for your defension, but I must leave that matter to her and you, She designs you Shall come back with her for England, leaving your brother to finish his Studys I would have you Stile your Self in your Theses—*Marylando-Hibernus*. . . .

I have nothing more to Say to you, save only to reccommend an exact desipline both as to your Eternall welfare and Virtuous demeanor in this life . . . and Conclude

Yo^{r}: affectionate Father

CHARLES CARROLL.[2]

[2] MS. letter owned by Mr. Carroll Mactavish. On the outside covering of this letter is written in the handwriting of Mrs. Richard Caton: "Letter of my Great Grand Father—the first Letter of our family.—MRS. CATON. February 1834."

I am afraid your Brothers Theses are miscarried for those of his last defence are not come to my hands yett ... Therefore desire you will take much the same Steps your brother did, Especially in your dedecation to me Mutatis Mutandis so that it appear not to be the same with the other

Your Mother designes next Spring to go with your brother either to Graveling or Dunkirk, when She is there I doubt not, her good nature and affection She has for her Children will Induce her to See you and your brother, but I should think it more Convenient and less fatiguing to her, that upon her giving you Notice of her arrivall and appointing you a time to meet her at Saint Omers if it Should not prove an Interruption to your preparation for your defension, but I must leave that matter to her and you, She designes you shall come back with her for England leaving your brother to finish his Studys Longer, I leave you Stile your Selfe in your Theses

Maryland—Hiberniæ

I have nothing more to Say to you, save only to recommend an exact discipline both as to your Eternall welfare and Virtuous demeanor in this life ... and Conclude—

Sir

Yo: affectionate Father

Ch: Carroll

II.

THE FALL OF OSWEGO.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS WRITTEN TO CHARLES CARROLL OF DOUGHOREGAN.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM ALBANY AUGUST 31, 1756.

After an anxious suspense for several days 'tis now past all Doubt that we have lost Oswego; the manner how is not certain. Two Sailors who escaped from thence told the Story. On the 9th or 10th of Augst. inst. one of the Schooners came in and gave an Account to the Garrison that a large Army was encamped about four miles to the Eastward on the Bank of the Lake.— Two Sloops were immediately ordered out, if possible to annoy them, and when they were approaching to the Shore, they received a fire of Cannon from the Enemy and several of the Shot struck one of the Sloops. Finding then that the Enemy had heavier Mettal, the Sloops returned to Oswego, and the third day after the French Army, consisting of 3000 French and Many Indians approached Fort Ontario, on the East side of the River then commanded by Captain Paget, the Enemy preparing to play their Cannon against it, and then Captain Paget sunk his powder in the Well, spiked up his Cannon and returned to the old Fort on the West side of the River.

The Enemy soon after began to play their Cannon upon the old Fort. Our whole Numbers there were about 15 or 1600 Men, the Engagement continued from Thursday to Saturday Noon, being the 14th of the

month, when Colonel Mercer being killed the Garrison beat a Parley. Lieutenant Middlemore went over to the French Camp to treat about a Surrender and returned with an Officer who was blindfold. Just before the Parley a considerable Party of the French had forded the River above at the Rifts and were Preparing to attack the Lines about the old Fort, where Colonel Schuyler was posted; the Sailors are ignorant of the terms of Surrender, but understood that they were honourable and remember that both English and French Colours were flying the greatest part of the afternoon.

We are also informed that when this intelligence was brought to General Webb at the Carrying place, the trees were fallen to stop up the Wood Creek and that the Enemy began where we left off and continued the Obstruction down to the Oneida Lake. Thus we have lost one of the most important Garrisons upon this Continent. Oswego, enabled us to command the Lakes, it secured us a share in the Fur Trade. It cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana and thus prevented our being restricted to scant Limits along the Sea Shore. It embarrassed the French in their Access to the Ohio. It obstructed their irruptions into the Southern Colonies. It covered the Western Frontier to the Province of New York and secured the friendship or rather the Neutrality of the Six Nations. General Shirley was always sensible of its vast importance, all wise and disinterested Men in the Colonies knew it, and many miserable Wretches on the frontiers will probably feel it before the next Campaign. How it came to be lost is a Question which no Man in this Colony will take upon him to determine. New Jersey has lost a Regi-

ment. She has lost more. She has lost Colonel Schuyler a brave and loyal Subject, who diffused his own ease and all the delights of an affluent Fortune to the Service of his Country. Who had greater inducements to content himself at home? None. Who has followed his disinterested Example? But one, and yet few have been less noticed.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM HALIFAX, AUGUST 23, 1756.

Saturday last Vizt. Augst. 21. a fishing Schooner arrived here the Master whereof reports and has offered to make Affidavit of the same that he saw Commodore Holmes with seven Ships take four French Men of War off Louisburgh; 'tis supposed these are the four Ships that Commodore Holmes engaged last Month so briskly. We have had advice of their Sailing from Louisburgh and as the Wind has not been favourable so as to permit Mr. Holmes's arrival here, the report gains Ground.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM BOSTON, DATED AUGUST 23, 1756.

Just now arrived Captain Trehey from Halifax who says, as he was coming out, he met two flying Schooners bound in, the Masters whereof told him that Commodore Holmes had in Tow four of the five French Men of War that he engaged some time ago off Louisburgh. 'Tis also just reported by a Vessel from Barcelona that either Bing or West is sent home for some misconduct, and that the English are not so well off as we are too apt to think.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN IN ALBANY, DATED SEPT. 9, 1756.

Philadelphia September 9th.

The fall of Oswego is confirmed by the Indians with this additional shocking Circumstance, that the French have massacred every soul except 150. We had before confirmed accounts of the Place surrendering upon capitulation, and were it any other enemy in the World than the French, I could not devise how to reconcile so different accounts; but I could easily believe that the French would, on any pretence or none, if they saw any advantage in it, break any Capitulation and commit any Murders. An Attempt to strike somewhere must be hourly expected of the French. If the Country knew, I should rather say, were sensible of this Danger, for they have been told of it, they would be more alive, nay more in Earnest, in their Defence and We should have less to fear from the Enemy.

In a Letter from the great Carrying Place dated August 22nd., it is said that in defence of Oswego we had only one Officer killed, one wounded and lost eight or nine private men, and that there was in the garrison above a year's provision and ammunition for 2000 men.[3]

LETTER III.

CHARLES CARROLL OF DOUGHOREGAN TO CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

July 25th, 1758.

Dear Charley,

On ye 8th past our Troops landed at ye Bay of Gabori nigh Louisburgh and drove ye French from their Posts

[3] Family Papers of Mr. Carroll Mactavish.

there which were strongly intrenched: We are said to have lost 70 Soldiers and about 100 Sailors in ye landing and Attack. The French abandoned (after destroying them) ye Grand and Light house Batteries (see a Plan of Louisburgh in P. Charlevoix' History of New France). We have erected a Battery on the light house point to Command ye Island Battery and to dismast ye Men of War in ye Harbour which are said to be six of ye Line and three Frigates, which with ye Town, we think, must inevitably fall into our hands in a short time after ye 25 past, our Accounts from thence coming no later. A French Frigate of 32 Guns with ye Governor's Lady and about sixty other Ladies, with many valuable effects, stole in ye Night out of ye Harbour and passed our Men of War a small distance; but it falling calm, she was taken. Our news from Lake Champlain is not so favourable; on the 6th instant our Troops landed to ye number of 16,000, seven Miles from Ticonderoga, which I think ye French call Fort Carillon and attacked a pass of forty Men, among whom . . . Lord Howe. On ye . . . we attacked Ticonderoga; ye fire was very warm on both sides for some hours, but we were at last obliged to retire, having lost, as it is said, 1526 Regulars—that is killed, wounded and missing—and ninety seven Officers killed and wounded many of Note. On ye 9th we returned on ye higher side of the Lake with a Resolution to return with our heavy Cannon, but I fear our attempts on that side are over for this Campaign, and I wish our loss there may not be much greater than it's reported to be at present. As to our Expedition against Fort Du Quesne, it goes on so slowly that I begin to doubt whether it was not meant

to divert ye French. Our great Superiority at Sea is evident, our Enemies steal out of their Ports and dare not face us; hence in time, their several Colonies by being distressed must submit. We have taken ye following Ships since ye Commencement of ye War: Foudroyant 80 Guns, Esperance 74, Oriflame 74, run on Shore, Orpheus 64, Alcide 64, Lys 64, Arc en Ciel 50, Duc d'Aquitaine 50, Aquillon 48, Royal Chariot 36, Hermione 36, Melampe 34, Nymphe 34, Brune 30, Galatea 22, Raisonable 64, beside 6 Line of Battle Ships and two Frigates cooped up in ye Harbour of Louisburgh which in all probability will fall into our hands, if not burnt by ye French before they surrender. We have lost ye Greenwich of 50, and ye Warwick of 60; can France with so inferior . . . shews what Miracles Genius, Activity and Resolution can work. One would think him Master of France and ye Austrian Dominions; and that ye power of all own hardly without a risque. We doubt not but the Events of ye War will be much in our favour.

Hitherto the Campaign has not been opened by any Action, The Bulk of our Forces is assembled at, and between, Albany and the Lakes of the Sacrament, and the Provincial Forces exclusive of the Regulars are said to amount to 7,000 Men. The French Forces at the Fort St. Arediru we say amount to 3000: Besides the Regulars shipped from England this spring, we have six Regiments besides the Royal American Regiment to be raised and to consist of 4,000; and, it's said, three or four Regiments more are expected from Britain. Lord Loudon, who is to command in Chief, is hourly expected—if not arrived. In appearance all these

Forces will march against Fort St. Frederic and some of the French Forts on Ontario or Erie Lakes.

We have lately taken a French 54 Gun Ship and a store Ship of 400 Ton and 80 Men laden with Ammunition etc., both bound for Louisburgh. This was taken by the Norwich of 50 Guns, and another of sixty Guns. Eleven more, which had been in Company, may fall into our hands as we have thirteen Ships of War cruising off to Louisburgh.

These Accounts I give you to satisfy your Curiosity not to display my own Judgment, as a Politician, but I have represented things as I conceive them. I may be misinformed, for every day brings new and contradictory Accounts.

My Plantation where you lived has been greatly improved by beautiful Meadows, a fine Orchard of the choicest Fruits of all Sorts, a very pretty Garden well walled in etc. etc., so as to make it as pleasant an Inland Seat as any in Maryland. But that and all my other Possessions I am determined to quit, if I can meet with the Success I expect from my Scheme. I shall remove from a settled and well improved Estate, and in the Sale of which I expect to lose to the value of at least £10,000 sterlg. But to procure Ease to myself by flying from the pursuits of Envy and Malice and to procure a good Establishment for you, I am willing to undergo and struggle with all the difficulties and inconveniences attending on a new Settlement in a new Climate. There is but one Man in the Province whose fortune equals mine. Judge from this of the Love I bear you, but at the same time be persuaded that my Affection towards you is greatly increased by the most agreeable Accounts

I receive of your Pious Prudent and regular behaviour, of your sweet temper and disposition and of the proficiency and figure you make in your Studies which gives me the strongest reason to hope, that you will in the course of your Life no less distinguish yourself among Men than you have hitherto done among your Schoolfellows. *Initium Sapientiae timor Domini.* Always remember this.[4]

Letter IV.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Feb. 9th, 1759.

Dear Charley,

. . . . . .

I still persist in ye Resolution to sell my Estate here. Since my Return I have sold to ye Value of £2000 Ster. upon a piece; I am in hopes my lands will go off better and faster; what I have sold has not been under Value.

I wrote to you that on my return I found my affairs in as prosperous a way as I could expect. I have let Mr. Croxall know ye Compt. you pay him on that head. As I doubt not your serious and diligent application to your Studies I am not against ye agreeable Realization you propose of a Tour to Lyons, especially as you take Mr. Power with you; ye choice of your Companion is an instance of your Prudence and Virtue. I present my sincerest Respects to him. I think no more of ye Project I mentioned to you, and which I was fond of: *Fugaces labuntur anni,* and the success would depend much on my life. Your French letter is prettily wrote;

[4] Family Papers of Mr. Carroll Mactavish.

I don't doubt but you will be a perfect Master of that Language. As to news on ye 25th of November, we took Possession of Fort Quesne on ye River Ohio or rather of ye Spot on which it stood, ye French having blown up and destroy'd ye works. This ye want of Provisions obliged them to and their want of Provisions proceeded from ye loss of Fort Frontiniac and ye Magazines there; had they been supply'd with provisions that Fort would have been still in their possession; for by ye difficulty and length of ye way, our Troops were almost starving nor could they have got a sufficient Supply to stay a week before ye place. Our disappointment at Ticonderoga is imputed to ye Misconduct of General Abercrombie, who, it is said, was not equal to ye Command. When he found he could not force ye French Entrenchments, which was attempted by a *coup de main*, he should have made an immediate retreat and proceeded by a regular attack, instead of this he left his Troops some hours exposed to ye murdering fire of our Enemies. Mr. Montcalm's disposition for a defence is as much censured by our Officers as Abercrombie's attack. They say that from a rising Ground with two or three pieces of Cannon we could have drove ye French from their works, which were so constructed as to be enfiladed. These are little Anecdotes; all ye rest you may see in ye Gazettes. Upon ye whole, our Campaign in America has been a glorious one, and we doubt not ye Conquest of Canada next Campaign, if ye Efforts of this year be equal to ye last which we have no room to doubt. By our Superiority at Sea, all supplies are cut out from Quebec; their Entrepot Louisburgh is in our hands, ye Isle of St. Jean and several of their Settle-

ments are destroy'd and ye Inhabitants sent to old France; Quebec will not only want their help and ye Provisions they supply'd her with, but France will be burthened with ye . . .

Things are in a quite opposite Situation with us; ye pay of so many Troops, ye Money laid out in provisions and providing Magazines etc. for them, circulates briskly among us, and we have plenty of Provisions for much more numerous Forces and more than enough beside to supply our West India Islands, so that ye War which at first, as a new thing, was terrible to us, is now our interest and desire. Beside, by the Possession of Fort du Quesne ye Western Frontier of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania is secured against ye Cruelties of ye Savages; at ye same time we see ye power of our Mother Country to be such that she awes, invades and terrifies ye Coasts of France, ruins her Settlements in Africa, whither she has sent a Squadron to secure them to ourselves, and that she has sent out a Strong Squadron and a considerable Number of Land forces to reduce some of the Islands belonging to ye French in ye West Indies. We know not yet where this Storm is to fall nor have we yet any certain Account of ye arrival of our fleet at Barbadoes. It is true by our publick papers, which come down to ye 7th of November, things go not so well with us and our Ally, ye King of Prussia in Germany. Should France again master ye Electorate, they may, as some think, have more than an equivalent in their hands, werewith to purchase such a peace as may be agreeable to them; while others think no Foreign Interest will hinder England from availing herself of ye advantages she has, and may reap by her Superiority at

Sea and in America. This is a point which I leave to time to clear up. Your Mama and I join in our prayers to God to bless you. Be regular and virtuous; and by being so, secure to yourself peace and happiness here and hereafter.

I am, dear Charley,

Your Affectionate Father,

CHARLES CARROLL.[5]

LETTER V.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Augst. 13th; 1759.

Dear Charlie,

On ye 1st of July General Prideaux with 2,000 men and 700 Indians left Oswego to attack Niagara: Colonel Haldiman being left at Oswego was attacked ye 5th by 1,500 Regulars and Canadians and 250 Indians; ye 6th they renewed their Attack from seven in ye morning until nine when they retired, having no Cannon, and our men, being entrenched, treated them very roughly; we had 1200. We had thirteen private men wounded, six killed, Captain Sowers, ye Engineer, and a Lieutenant wounded.

On ye 6th Prideaux landed within five miles of Niagara undiscovered; and on ye 22d. or 23d, he was attacked by a party of French and Indians in his Trenches. Ye Enemy were repulsed with great Loss and pursued five miles: as we had nigh 1000 Indians in

[5] Family Papers of Mr. Charles Mactavish.

ye pursuit—ye Slaughter must be great. We took several Officers mostly wounded. Upon this Sir Wm. Johnson, (who succeeded Prideaux in Command, Prideaux being killed by ye bursting of a Cohorn) sent to ye Commandant of Niagara to acquaint him with ye Defeat and to Summon him to surrender, which he did after one of his Officers had seen ye French Officers taken in ye Action. They were seventeen in number—among them Mr. D'Aubry, Chief in Command, Lignery 2d. Marin, Ville, Repentine, Martini, Bascul, all Captains. The Garrison of Niagara consisted of 607 private men, besides Officers and their wives—all prisoners when ye place capitulated, which was on ye 24th of July. By ye Pennsylvania Gazette of ye 9th Inst, we are informed that ye French had abandoned 1st ye lines before Ticonderoga. Ticonderoga and Crown Point they attempted to blow up, but their mines did not fully succeed. General Wolfe is before Quebeck with sixteen [?] men besieging and bombarding it. If he succeeds (and he certainly will, if *Amherst* joins him, who seems to have nothing to stop him, Ticonderoga and Crown Point being abandoned) all Canada is ours; for ye remote Posts must fall of Course. While we are in ye highest Transports of Joy ye poor Acadian prisoners among us are quite desponding and dejected; they are helpless, and people tired of supporting them so long by Charity; for my part they have cost me as much, or more, than ye 2800 Livres you are likely to be cheated of. My Compliments to Mr. De L'Isle Dieu, and let him know this;—I should not mention it but I am provoked at ye injustice done you. All ye . . . are well; your Mama and I, in particular, are so, and daily pray to

God to grant you health and every other blessing; we present you our most sincere and tender love.

I am

Dear Charley

Your Affectionate Father

CHARLES CARROLL.

P.S. My sincere Compliments to Mr. Crookshanks, and all your other Friends.[6]

LETTER VI.

Dec. 22. 1765.

. . . . . .

Our assembly broke up yesterday discontented and differing about Mr. Ross's claim as clerk of ye council, which has prevented ye passing of ye journal. These disputes are a heavy charge to ye province, and, under its present situation, will occasion a particular loss. Never was ye want of money more severely felt. To remedy this evil, there was a scheme on foot, which I believe would have taken place, if ye Journal had passed, to circulate paper Bills of credit in dollars, and aliquot parts of a dollar, ye exchange to be fixed at 4/6 sterling, ye dollar passing at 7/6 Currency. With this emittance the debt which amounts to £50000 and some odd pounds, was to be paid off; and, therefore, ye sum intended to be emitted was to be limited to £50000. At ye expiration of 10 years these Bills were to be discharged by ye money in ye Bank, and in ye loan office, to be invested in stock, and those sums with the accumulated interest at ye end of that term would satisfy ye said emittance and leave a pretty considerable Balance

[6] Family Papers of Mr. Charles Mactavish.

in our favour after all charges paid. It was proposed by the author, or authors, of this scheme—for several claim that honour, that a duty of 12 pence a hogshead, and 2 pence on every gallon of rum, should be imposed to increase the fund. With these additional duties it was computed that at ye end of 10 years, when ye £50000 was to be paid off, there would remain no less a sum than £97000 Sterling to be applied, as ye Legislature should think proper.[7] . . .

Letter VII.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON TO HIS DAUGHTER, MRS. CATON.

July 16th, 1813.

My dear Mary,

Kitty, who goes this evening to Baltimore, will inform you that I am well; this fine cool weather agrees with me, and is favourable to getting in the harvest; we now, however, are much in want of rain, and the oats and corn are suffering from the drought.

I hope Jackson will turn out to be a good manager; Brookland woods, if well cultivated ought to yield a revenue of 6000. I believe, hitherto, it has not netted one thousand dollars.

I suppose you will be in Baltimore this evening to attend to-morrow the baptism of General Wirlot's little girl. Present my respects to him and to his lady.

Monro's labours had to prove that the orders in Council were not revoked in consequence of the French decree of 21 April 1811. Admitting that that decree was

[7] Family Papers of Mr. Carroll Mactavish.

not the sole cause, which induced the British Government to revoke the Orders of Council, yet as those orders were the principal alleged cause of the declaration of war against Great Britain, as they were repealed, this Government, if really desirous of peace, ought to have embraced the opportunity of negotiating with England. The majority of Congress I have no doubt will approve the President's conduct, for by so doing, they approve their own; yet no dispassionate person, acquainted with the subject of the Secretary's report can agree with the opinion of that majority.

I am informed by a note from Doctor Thomas that intelligence has been received that the British are ascending the Potomack with a strong land force, it is said, of 6,000 men. I do not believe they have half that number of land troops; however the attempt on Washington may occasion Congress to adjourn without passing the tax bills, a measure, I suspect, that will not be displeasing to either party in that body.

I have written to Mr. Caton, in answer to his letter of the 11th; mine was dated yesterday, and is inclosed in my letter to Neilson which I have given to Kitty; it also covers one for your brother. Give my love to your daughters. I suppose Mr. Caton returned yesterday from Cape Sable and that matters are going on well there.

If the English frigates remain in our Bay, and the winter should be long and severe, the price of wood will probably be high. God bless you, my dear child.

I am your affectionate father

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.[8]

[8] Family Papers of Mr. Carroll Mactavish.

Letter VIII.

MRS. BYARD TO HER COUSIN, MRS. MACTAVISH.

Wilmington—May 19th.

I received yesterday, my dearest Emily, your kind letter; and scarcely know how to thank you, as I ought, for this proof of your affection. It has relieved my mind of a weight of care which has long pressed heavily upon me.—I must beg you to say to dear grandpapa how much I feel this act of kindness towards my child, and offer him my heartfelt thanks. You ask if we would trust you with the superintendence of her—I should be only too happy to place her under your care with the full powers of a Mother.—For equally with yourself I deprecate that species of false indulgence, which looks no further than the *present* gratification of the child. And as regards all *essential* kindness, there is no other being I should feel greater dependence on. For you are not guided by impulse, but principle.—But it is not in words I can convey my full sense of your goodness, and the entire confidence I place in you, for assuming this charge in addition to your own cares.—From your account of Miss Marcilly, I think, she would have equal advantages as regards instructions as at the convent, and infinitely greater, being under your eye. Mr. Bayard is, at present, in Maryland, but as soon as he returns, I will write again and let you know. He will, I am sure, be delighted now to give Mary those advantages which she could not have at a little village school. She is smart and tractable and, at the same time, so affectionate that I am sure you will love her.

I was grieved to hear your little Mary and the baby had been ill; but I trust the worst is over now. Those little things struggle through so much.—Remember me kindly to Mactavish; and my best love to your Mother and dear grandpapa.—I would write to him, but knowing how bad his sight is, I depute you, dearest Emily, to say for me all that you know, I feel for his kindness.—

I have written this hasty page because I would not wait for Mr. B's return, to thank you for this most important kindness to

Your ever affectionate Cousin

MARY S. BAYARD.[9]

LETTER IX.

RICHARD BYARD, ESQ., TO CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

Philadelphia March 30th. 1829.

Dear Sir,

I received, on my return from Maryland, your letter of the 22d. inst. relating to the one addressed by you to the President. I must return you my thanks for the kind interest, you take in the subject.

I am satisfied that you have been misinformed as to the establishment of Committees of recommendation in the principal cities. None such exists in Wilmington and none such is known to exist here.—I would suggest therefore the propriety of ascertaining whether your letter has been actually received.

. . . . . .

I would suggest that its receipt might be ascertained

[9] Family Papers of Mr. Carroll Mactavish.

without awkwardness through Mrs. Decatur, who having been so good as to express an interest in the subject, could, as if intending to introduce a subject which she wished to recommend, enquire incidentally whether such a letter had been received.—This communication with Mrs. Decatur can take place through Mrs. Mactavish and I have no doubt that these ladies, with the tact which belongs to their sex, and peculiarly to themselves, will be able to ascertain the desired fact.

. . . . . .

You will permit me, my dear Sir, to say in conclusion, that if the President is not disposed to concede the appointment to your wishes and recommendation, I shall not have recourse to any other influence.

I remain, my dear Sir, with sentiments of the greatest respect and regard,

Yours

RICHARD H. BYARD.

ERRATUM.

The date line of the letter on page 79 should read *Annapolis* instead of *London.*